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JULY, 1937

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Archaic Chinese Characters

Being some intensive studies in them

PART III

BY L. C. HOPKINS

(Continued from the JRAS., April, 1937, p. 217, line 11)

HAVING already discussed the first of the two forms used for Summer, we may examine the second, and attractive theory of its origin put forward by Mr. Yeh Yü-sên. This theory is freely cited by Mr. Tung Tso-pin in Part 3 of the *Excavations at Anyang* (*Academia Sinica*), 1931, especially on pp. 511–514. Mr. Yeh observes: " When the ancients invented characters for the Four Seasons—Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter—I surmise that in each case they drew their imagery from the object most conspicuous in that season. Now the character 夏 *hsia*, summer, is not found in the oracular sentences, but on the analogy of the example previously adduced, the words 今 春 *chin ch'un* ' the present Spring ', I have secured three instances where, following 今 *chin*, there occurs a single character, in each case a pictogram." Here Mr. Yeh cites three passages from Bone inscriptions, two from Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, and one from a work not accessible to me. The three figures below I have copied direct from Lo's plates, as cited by

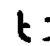
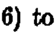
Mr. Yeh, but not from the minuscule forms as constricted into the text of Mr. Tung Tso-pin's article.[1]


FIG. 1.


FIG. 2.


FIG. 3.

After citing these three forms Mr. Yeh continues: "In these three passages the pictographic figures all represent the antennæ, head, wings, and feet, 並狀緌首翼足 *ping chuang sui shou i tsu*, closely resembling those of the cicada 蟬 *ch'an*, and we may surmise that the oracular sentences borrowed the *cicada* to stand for Summer, the cicada being the most conspicuous summer insect. When you hear its sound you know it is summer!"[2]

One other variant of the six forms cited in the text by Mr. Yeh must be reproduced here as his argument requires it. This is  (Fig. 4). And Yeh proceeds to put forward a most ingenious explanation of the real sabotage of significance that he perceives in the formation and in Hsü Shên's explanation of his Lesser Seal version of Hsia, viz.  (Fig. 5) "a man of China". The Lesser Seal, he says, has "perverted  (Fig. 6) to  (Fig. 7),  (Fig. 8) to 頁, and  (Fig. 9) to  (Fig. 10), and, as it were, robbed them of their resemblances, 猶略得其似 *yu liao tê ch'i ssŭ*. By the time the form had reached the learned Hsü Shên it was held to depict the head, the two hands, and two feet, being those of a Man of China; just as though a foreigner's head, hands, and feet were of some different number to those of Chinese! In all conscience an interpretation of despair!"

誠強索解矣 *ch'êng ch'iang so chieh i.*

[1] See Lo Chên-yü in 殷虛書契, fig. 1, ch. 5, p. 25; fig. 2, ch. 2, p. 5; fig. 3, ibid., Hou Pien, 下, p 12. Fig. 1 is not preceded by 今 *chin*.

[2] This is enragingly true in Peking of the deafening *we-we* cicada.

To Mr. Yeh Yü-sên's argument from the immediately preceding word 今 *chin* " the present ", implying a restriction to *one* of the Four Seasons, it is a real pleasure to adduce a short passage of three words, which virtually serves as conclusive proof of the truth of his theory. Strangely enough this passage seems to have been overlooked by Mr. Yeh and by Mr. Tung Tso-pin, but it will be found in Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, ch. 4, p. 5, written horizontally, in fine clear style, as shown below:  (Fig. 11) *pu hsia chih* " to divine as to the Summer Solstice ". Close by, but written vertically, are the two characters  (Fig. 12) *ssŭ yüeh*, 4th moon, as a separate entry. If the limitation to one of the Four Seasons is cogent, how much more compelling is the restriction to one of the two solstices !

In bidding adieu to the Summer, there is one feature of the character so brilliantly elucidated by Mr. Yeh Yü-sên that should be noted as quite exceptional.

Assuming that the original form of *hsia* 夏 was an unskilful drawing of a cicada, this is a type of presentative device not referable to the traditional classes of the Six Scripts, and recalcitrant to their conditions. Only two of these classes could lay claim to include it, and neither without violence. One of these would be the 象 形 *hsiang hsing* group, or pictographic figures. These, in the system, are pictures of objects corresponding to the names of such objects in the spoken language. Thus, the original picture of a horse is the character for the word *ma*, meaning horse. But in the case adduced by Mr. Yeh, the picture was of a cicada, termed *ch'an* in the spoken language, but violently (as it were) diverted or perverted to the term *hsia* summer, on the strength of its undeniably appropriate symbolism. The only other class of the Six Scripts that might be suggested is the 假 借 *chia chieh*, or borrowed forms, but to qualify for entry into that group the borrowing and the lending characters must have the same

sound, which *ch'an*, cicada, and *hsia*, summer, cannot claim ever to have had. It is with pleasure that I welcome and perhaps make more widely known to Western students the discovery of Mr. Yeh Yu-sên, suggested by his imaginative insight and supported by sound and perspicuous argument.

L. C. HOPKINS.

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Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Feet

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

(*Continued from p. 286*)

Col. II (*KAR.* 192, *p.* 55, *l.* 33 *ff.*)

33. If a man is sick of a swelling, the colour of his sickness being black, thou shalt [pound] (and) strain the tops (juice) of oleander (?), mix in fine-ground flour, mash in rose-water (!),[1] bind on; (or) tops (juice) of tamarisk.

---

35. Mustard (and) **Ammi*, [thou] shalt pound finer than (?) flour,[2] mix, mash in rose-water, bind on.

---

37. Fruit of acacia [3] while it is yet green thou shalt bray, bind on.

---

38. Liquorice while it is yet green thou shalt bray, bind on.

---

39. Poppy thou shalt bray, bind on.

---

40. **Acorus Calamus*, the rush *elpitu mê burki* [4] thou shalt dry, pound, powder of *šupuḫru*-cedar in fine-ground flour with rose-water thou shalt mash, bind on.

---

41. If ditto, tops (juice) of Lycium,[5] tops (juice) of caper, tops (juice) of liquorice, tops (juice) . . ., tops (juice) of apple, tops (juice) of fig, tops (juice) of pomegranate, tops (juice) of

[1] *A.ZAL.LA* ("hemp") must be a scribe's mistake, as *E.* suggests.

[2] [*Tu*]-*dáb-bak iš-tu ZID.DA.*

[3] *iṣuAdogu*; see *RA.* 1930, 127.

[4] See *AH.* 32.

date-palm . . ., thou shalt dry, pound, mix in flour, mash in a small copper pan, bind on.

---

46. If ditto, tragacanth (and) *kamkadu*-plant thou shalt dry, pound, in fine-ground flour mix, in rose-water mash, bind on.

---

47. [If ditto], pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, cypress of the cemetery (?) thou shalt dry, pound, in *Ú.SA*-beer thou shalt mix, bind on.

---

48. [If ditto], tops (juice) of liquorice, tops (juice) of nettle, tops (juice) of **Arnoglosson* . . . (?) [1] thou shalt pound, in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, with . . . flour (?) mix, bind on.

---

50. If the *tumur* [2] of a man's heel is twisted (*kapil*), the colour [3] of his flesh varies, the sickness . . . being severe, thou shalt take all the tops (juice) of the garden-trees, roast them in an oven, into a [*nam*]*ḫaru*-bowl thou shalt pour (them); he shall bathe therein; until the sunset thou shalt leave (?) him . . .

. . . .

(*Col. II of KAR.* 192)

1. . . . thou shalt pound, in beer [in] a small copper pan thou shalt mash, while it is still hot [thou shalt bind it on].

---

2. If a man is sick of a swelling, the *tumur* of [his] heel . . . becoming black . . . bone, . . . anemone, **Anacyclus Pyrethrum*, **Arnoglosson*, tops (juice) of medlar (?) . . . fruit of Lycium

[1] *E.* xiv, 30, reads [*urḳi*]*ṭ* (?)-*su*(?)-*nu* "while they are yet green".
[2] Cf. col. II, l. 2.
[3] Text *ŠI*, but is this for *ši-mat*? See, however, col. II, l. 12.

thou shalt bray, mix in beer in a [small] copper pan [thou shalt mash, bind on].

---

6. If a man is sick of a swelling, the sickness [reaching] as far as the bone of [his] . . ., the sickness torments [him],[1] not being loosed from his body, *Ú.SA*-beer . . . into a *namḫaru*-bowl thou shalt pour (it), his feet thou shalt bathe,[2] . . . washed, cataplasms . . . mustard, roast corn, in *ḫimetu*-ghee in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, [bind on].

---

11. If a man is sick of a swelling, the sickness rising as far as his knee, the colour of [his] flesh being . . ., it . . . (?),[3] the surface of his sickness being black, (and) that sickness not being relieved[4] by cataplasms; a ball (?)[5] of cow-dung, gazelle-dung, *Vitex* in an oven thou shalt [roast], he shall bathe his legs (therewith); **Arnoglosson*, **Anacyclus Pyrethrum*, pine-turpentine . . ., the plant . . . (?),[6] *Cannabis*, *Withania somnifera*,[7] ú*am*- . . ., *kazalurtu*-plant,[8] sumach, *kamkadu*-plant . . . **Cratægus Azarolus*, *Solanum*, *BAR.ḪUŠ*-plant, **Ammi*, . . . thou shalt pound, in beer in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, bind on.

---

19. If a man is sick of a painful swelling, *Cannabis* . . . in *ḫimetu*-ghee thou shalt anoint.

---

20. If ditto, . . . (and) *Solanum* in *ḫimetu*-ghee thou shalt anoint.

---

[1] *Ittazaz*, from *nazâzu*, exact meaning uncertain.

[2] Text *tar-ḫat*, surely for *tar-ḫaṣ*, as in col. I, l. 49, where *tar-ḫaṣ* is the variant. *E.* xiv, 31 (6), reads *tar-ḫáṣ*.

[3] *Tu-ri-iḫ*.

[4] *Ul i-šil-li*.

[5] *KIL*, as in *AM.* 83, 1, *r.* iii, 10, *RA.* 1934, 13.

[6] *E.* xiv, 31, suggests ú*šana-me-rum* (= rue ?).

[7] ú*ḪAR.ḪU.BA.ŠIR*, *DACG.* 173.

[8] Hardly *pizalurtu*, "maggot" (cf. l. 31); see my forthcoming article in *AJSL.* 1937.

21. If ditto, powder of poppy in *ḫimetu*-ghee thou shalt anoint.

---

22. While thou art binding on these cataplasms, . . . dry (?) thou shalt bind.

---

23. If ditto, thou shalt dry, pound, **styrax*, *Arnoglosson*, tragacanth, anoint with oil, bind.[1]

---

24. If ditto, thou shalt dry (and) bray a cricket of the river (and) pine-turpentine in *ḫimetu*-ghee anoint, bind.[1]

---

25. If ditto, mucilage (?) of sesame (*Here is AM.* 73, ii), thou shalt dry, pound, the sick place . . . (?) anoint, bind [1]

---

26. If ditto, tops (juice) of poppy thou shalt dry, pound, the sick place . . . (?) anoint, bind.

---

27. If ditto, thou shalt pound the mineral geodes of the river,[2] the sick place (?) . . . (?) anoint, bind, bind on.

---

28. If ditto, *Artemisia*,[3] seed of *lidruša*-plant, **Anacyclus Pyrethrum* thou shalt pound, . . . anoint, bind.

---

29. If ditto, *Solanum* (and) *TU.LAL*-plant thou shalt pound, in beer-yeast [mix], anoint . . .

---

[1] *MAR*(*-rum*) (ll 25–6) in conjunction with l. 23, seems rather to indicate that the reading for *MAR* in these texts is *taṣaru*, perhaps as well as *ṣpd* (*PRSM*. 1924, 4, n 6) Cf. *AM*. 26, 2, *r*. 6, 7, *MAR*. and *ta-ṣa-rum-ma*. For *taṣaru* = "bind", see *PRSM*. 1924, 5, n. 3; *E*. reads "bestreuen.", doubtless *zarû*, Heb. *zârah* "scatter". ll. 25–33, as represented by *AM*. 73, ii, 1–9, have no dividing horizontal lines.

[2] *Ætites*, a reddish-brown ironstone, containing a smaller stone, *DACG*. 108.

[3] *AM*. adds *arzallu*-plant, *Cratægus Azarolus*.

30. If ditto, date-stones thou shalt bray, in pig's fat anoint, bind.

---

31. If ditto, *kazallurtu*-plant thou shalt bray, in oil anoint, bind.

---

32. If ditto, *Cannabis*, *Cratægus Azarolus* thou shalt pound, anoint with mountain oil (petroleum), bind.

---

33. If ditto, rind[1] of pomegranate thou shalt reduce, anoint in fish-oil, bind.

---

34. If (ditto) the sickness of a swelling (be) great, a tabu has seized upon him: though he assuage it he will subsequently die.

---

35. If (ditto) the sickness of the swelling result in "moisture",[2] he will die.

---

36. If he is sick of a swelling, thou shalt mix in a small copper pan green dung with red-brown urine with fine-ground flour, bind on.

---

38. If ditto, *mint, *Artemisia*, *balsam, **Sagapenum*, powder of poppy (opium) in *ḫimetu*-ghee (and) pig's fat thou shalt mash in a small copper pan, bind on.

---

40. If he is sick of a swelling,[3] thou shalt reduce the plant *išin eḳli*, put on the (sick) place.

---

[1] *BAR* = *ḳulipta*, *CT*. xii, 16, No. 93043: cf. *AM*. 12, 6, 7, and for a word *ḳulipta* = "bark," "skin," see *JRAS*. 1924, 454; *PRSM*. 1926, 44, n. 1; *Gilg. Ep*., xi, 269. *KAR*. has *PA*. See also my *Devils*, ii, 146, 12.

[2] *Rubuntu*, v. *rušibtu*. Both these last two prescriptions suggest dropsy.

[3] *KAR*. "If the sickness ditto." *AM*. omits the horizontal lines between ll. 40–45.

41. If ditto,[1] tops (juice) of liquorice thou shalt bray, put on the place.

---

42. If ditto, "shell" of pomegranate thou shalt fry, put on the place.

---

43. If ditto, a falcon[2] thou shalt fry, put on the place.

---

44. If ditto, tops (juice) of nettles thou shalt chop,[3] put[4] on the place.

---

45. If ditto, tops (juice) of nettles, tops (juice) of *urzinnu*[5]-plant thou shalt chop, put[4] on the place.[6]

---

46. If ditto, tops (juice)[7] of rue (?) thou shalt chop, apply to the place.

---

47. If a man's *kappaltu*[8] hurts, the head of a "red-tongue" (lizard ?) thou shalt reduce, bray, apply to the place.

---

48. (If ditto), "shell" of pomegranate thou shalt bray, put on the place.

---

49. (If ditto), the head of a *kaziru* thou shalt fry, put on the place.

---

[1] This "If ditto" is not always on *KAR.*, and conversely in ll. 48–50, although it is on *KAR.* *AM* 74 omits.

[2] *KAR* has *SAG.DÚ.ḪA*, a fish, much more probable. Cf. col. i, l. (69).

[3] *Ta-šal-lit.*

[4] For *tanadi* on *KAR.*, *AM.* 74 has *tatabbak*, except l. 46, where both have it.

[5] In addition to the examples in *AM.* 212, cf. Weidner, *Boghaz K. Studien, D. Zug Sargons*, 1922, 64.

[6] *KAR.* for the latter part has "ditto".

[7] *PA* omitted on *KAR.*

[8] Some part of the foot · = *RI.GÌR*, ii *R.* 29, 31, *c.* *KAR.*, *ka-pal-ta.*

50. (If ditto), the sick place thou shalt cleanse, apply a needle.[1]

(*51 on KAR. (mutilated) appears to be different from the text on AM. 74, which, since only two much-mutilated lines of this column remain on KAR., is put here in continuation*) :—

24. If a man's feet are full of sickness, thou shalt dry the root of male-mandrake, pound, sift, in neat-oil bind on, and he shall recover.

---

25. If a man's feet are full of sickness, their sickness having a recurrent period ; the day when they are full of sickness, **Anacyclus Pyrethrum*, of which the "eyes" (flowers) are turned to the west, thou shalt root up in the sun, saying thus : "O Shamash, the plant is thy plant (?) . . ." This plant below (?) thou shalt tie ; thus[2] thou shalt say "Free, O Shamash, loose, O Shamash !" Seven times [thou shalt say it] : then shalt thou take dust of the City-Gate, go to the river, go down into the river, and set his face downstream (?) . . . thou shalt tie his feet downstream (?) ; thus[2] shalt thou say, "thou hast bound, do thou loose, O Shamash !" Seven times thou shalt say (it) . . ., his face upstream (?) thou shalt set, the dust aforementioned[3] on his feet upstream-(wards) (?) he shall rub : thus[2] shalt thou say, "Thou hast bound, do thou loose, O Shamash !" Seven times thou shalt say (it), and he shall recover.

---

32. If sickness comes out in a man's leg, or (in) a man's testicle,[4] and it tickles him and makes (him) itch[5] ; moisture, burning . . . For his recovery, roses, fenugreek, *saḫlê* in

[1] *Itqurtu* : see *DACG*. 120.

[2] *ḪAR.GIM*.

[3] Lit. "their dust".

[4] *ŠIR*. But it would almost appear here that there had been a doubtful text, and that the scribe was not certain whether it was *ina išpê* or a dittography of *ina*. For this reason he has given this almost impossible word as an alternative.

[5] *Irtaššašunu ubbak*.

rose-water thou shalt knead, bind, mix in fat, make a suppository, put into his anus and ⌈he shall recover⌉.

---

34. If sickness comes out in a man's leg, and it tickles him and makes (him) itch [1]; the sickness moisture, b[urning ?] . . . thou shalt sprinkle bean-flour [2] with oil, put (it) on the place; thou shalt put powder of manna [3] and oil on a cloth, and ⌈bind on⌉.

---

36. Thou shalt sprinkle water of *Salicornia*-alkali on the sick place, anoint with oil, seed of *Cratægus Azarolus* and seed of daisy [thou shalt put] on the place . . .

Reverse of AM. 74 (*Col. III*)

1. Thou shalt bray *styrax, put (it) on the place. Thou shalt bray *Calendula*, lupins (and) *Chrysanthemum segetum*, put (them) on the place. Thou shalt bray seed of tragacanth (and) seed of *kamkadu*, put (them) on the place. Thou shalt bray seed of *Ricinus* (and) seed of fennel put (them) on the place. Thou shalt bray pine-turpentine (and) fir-turpentine, put (them) on the place. Thou shalt bray *mint, put (it) on the place. Thou shalt bray *kazallu*-plant (and) **Ammi*, put (them) on the place. Thou shalt bray shoot of **Conium maculatum* (and) *Ricinus*, put (them) on the place. Thou shalt bray root of rue (?) (and) seed of tamarisk, put (them) on the place.

---

5. Thou shalt put (thereon) tops (juice) of oleander (?), tops (juice) of liquorice, tops (juice) of laurel, pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, when it hurts.

---

6. Thou shalt put *balsam (and) **Sagapenum* on the place; in an oven thou shalt roast (them), rub his feet therewith,

[1] *Iraššašumma ukkak.*

[2] *ZID lub-ba*

[3] On *ḳudru* "manna" see my article in *AJSL.* 1937.

anoint with oil; thou shalt mix fir-turpentine (and) *Œnanthe* (?), anoint.

---

8. Thou shalt bray seed of daisy, seed of *Cratægus Azarolus*, mix in rose-water, bind on.

---

9. Thou shalt mash seed of rue (?), seed of *Hyoscyamus*, seed of **Arnoglosson* in rose-water, rub with oil, bind on.

---

10. Thou shalt bray seed of sumach (and) seed of caper in rose-water, mash, bind on.

---

11. These drugs in beer he shall drink, mix with wax of honey, bind on.

---

12. Thou shalt bray chamomile, tops (juice) of oleander (?), tops (juice) of fennel, put on the place.

---

13. If sickness comes out on a man's leg and it grows like a pustule, he shall prick (out) (it) (its name is "*sagbanu*[1] which is full of fluid") and he shall recover. If ditto, he shall anoint with human excrement,[2] and shall recover. If ditto, thou shalt reduce camel-ticks (?),[3] bray, apply, and he shall

[1] *Kima pu-pu-ul TE* (= *alâku, emêdu*) *i-ḫar-ra-aṣ sag-ba-nu MU.NE šá IR.RA malû*. *Sàg-pa-nu* occurs also in l. 24, and is written out more fully in l. 26 [*sa*]-*ag-ba-nu*-(*um*). It occurs in Sumerian as *SAG.BA.NÁ* (*D*. 115, 58) and [*SAG*].*DINGIR.BABBAR*, ib. 67, and since *PA* = *ZAK*, we may assume that *sagbanu* and not *šagbanu* is correct, although the Syr. *S'paph*, verberavit, contudit, and *šâpâphâ*, colaphus suggest a cognate for a form *šappanu*. V. *R*. 21, 4–6 *a–b* gives *SAG.BA.NÁ* = *sag-ba-nu*, *SA.NIGIN* = *ru-pa-du*, *SA.AD.NIGIN* = *ṣi-da-nu* *IR* = *iatu* and *zutu* "sweat" (*D*. 232, 3 and 9), which suggest the fluid in a blister (*ir-ru*, as a Semitic word, is not so easy to trace as *IR*). The remedies suggest a simple swelling.

[2] "Human excrement" suggests an alchemist's synonym. I know of no synonym in the syllabaries for this, but *JRAS*. 1924, 455 (the explanatory text), says "*kurkanû* (turmeric) like *zuḫalum* (excrement)", which suggests that this or some similarly coloured substance is the equivalent.

[3] *NAM + ŠAB.SAḪAR.RA* (*ḪU + ŠAB.SAḪAR.RA*) = *ḪU + ŠAB gu-ru-ši* (?) (= *erib turba'ti*, *ŠID ašli*, Landsberger, *Fauna*, No. 228).

recover. If ditto, with blood of the kidney of an ox thou shalt anoint, reduce stalks of straw, bray, apply, and he shall recover. If ditto, thou shalt dry poppy, bray, ditto. If ditto, thou shalt anoint the sick place with oil or *ḫimetu*-ghee, dry the "shell" of pomegranate, bray, apply. If ditto, thou shalt bray *gum of *Galbanum*, put on the place. If ditto, thou shalt anoint the sick place with oil, bray date-stones, ditto. If ditto, thou shalt anoint the sick place with oil of cedar, or *ḫimetu*-ghee, bray pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, cummin together, ditto. If ditto, thou shalt reduce the heart of the palm, bray, ditto. If ditto, thou shalt reduce ash of the heart of the palm, stalks of straw, *mirsu*,[1] mash with rose-water, bind on. (*Here is AM*. 75.) If ditto, thou shalt reduce *mirsu*, bray, mash in rose-water, bind on. If ditto, thou shalt bray tops (juice) of tamarisk, anoint in cedar-"blood", put on the place. If ditto, . . . honey thou shalt introduce,[2] bind on. If ditto, with honey thou shalt anoint, thou shalt put ash of cedar on the place. If ditto, with honey thou shalt anoint, . . . (?) thou shalt reduce, bray, ditto.

---

23. Charm: (*unintelligible to me*).

---

24. Incantation for a blister.[3]

---

25. . . . all drugs as many as thou canst bray,[4] thou shalt mix, mash in rose-water, bind on, and he shall recover.

---

26. . . . the [*s*]*agbanu*(-blister) thou shalt anoint with *ḫimetu*-ghee, one shekel of tops (juice) of pomegranate thou shalt pound,[5] for four days bind on, and he shall recover.

---

[1] *Mirsu* (*GAR NI.ṬE, A*) appears to mean something thickened, either of flour, or of honey and curd, or of wine.

[2] *Tulam, PRSM*. 1926, 63.

[3] *Ság-pa-nu* (see l. 13).

[4] *Ta-za-ak* (?).

[5] *Ta-pa-aṣ*(*z*).

27\. . . . gum of **Galbanum* together thou shalt mix, ditto: dates thou shalt reduce, pound, with oil anoint, bind on, and he shall recover.

28\. If . . . his . . . is pierced [1] hart's-horn thou shalt bray, mix in oil, anoint, bind on and he shall recover.

29\. . . . alkali (?) thou shalt bray, put on the place: ash of salt thou shalt bray, put on the place: gum arabic (?) thou shalt reduce, bray, put on the place: . . . thou shalt bray, put on the place: mustard thou shalt bray, put on the place.

31.[2] Thou shalt boil [roast *saḫlê*] (and) fresh (*BÍL*^[?]), powdered roses in beer, (and) bind on for three days. A bandage for a pierced foot.

32.[3] After this, on the fourth day (?), horn . . . , barley-flour (?), date-stones thou shalt reduce, bray, mix in oil, anoint in *ḫimetu*-ghee. Two bandages for a "pierced" sickness.[4]

33\. [If] . . . is sick, thou shalt bray leaven, anoint him in oil, apply, and he shall recover.

34\. . . . in oil thou shalt mix, bind on, and he shall recover.

35\. . . . thou shalt anoint, boil in gypsum, apply, and he shall recover.

---

[1] . . . *-ḫir-ta-šú nu-uḫ-ḫu-ra-at-ma.*

[2] The first half must be duplicate of *KAR.* 192, r. 2, 19. *sikiti* = "powdered", *JRAS.* 1931, 17. The "three bandages for a pierced foot" in *KAR.* refers to the three preceding recipes.

[3] From *KAR.* 192, r. 2, 21, a horizontal line being drawn in this latter text between this and the previous recipe. Read (?) *arki-šu ina IV*^kam *u*-*ḫme*(*me*). Are the signs after "horn" a mistake for "hart", as in l. 28?

[4] I.e. a pricked blister. It is not easy to see whether this last phrase is included on *KAR* as it is here, since the text is damaged.

36. . . . in rose-water thou shalt mix, ditto.

(Remainder mutilated)

Col. IV

1. *(Here is AM.* 18, 5, *reverse, joined to AM.* 75, 1, iv.) Pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, *opopanax thou shalt dry (?), put on,[1] and he shall recover

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2. If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil, *Artemisia*, *balsam, **Sagapenum* in water thou shalt put, roast in an oven, take out, rub his feet with this water, and anoint with oil; thou shalt mix pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, *Œnanthe* (?), anoint, and he shall recover.

---

5. If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil, seed of daisy (and) seed of *Cratægus Azarolus* together thou shalt bray, thou shalt mash in rose-water, bind on, and he shall recover.

---

6. If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil, seed of *mint, seed of *Cratægus Azarolus*, seed of **Arnoglosson* in rose-water thou shalt mash, rub in oil, bind on and he shall recover.

---

8. If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil, seed of cummin, seed of lettuce, in rose-water thou shalt mash, bind on, and he shall recover.

---

9. If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil, these drugs in wax of honey thou shalt mix, bind on, and he shall recover.

---

10. If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil,

[1] *RU.RU.*

bray together *Cratægus Azarolus*, tops (juice) of oleander (?), fennel, apply and he shall recover.

---

11. . . . male thyme in slime (?) [1] of fish thou shalt put, and pour into his anus, and he shall recover.

---

12. . . . . thyme in the milk of a virgin (?) kid thou shalt pour into his anus, and he shall recover.

---

13. . . . tragacanth, *Solanum* (?), thyme, without a meal he shall drink, and he shall recover.

---

14. . . . lupins, . . . without a meal he shall drink, and he shall recover.

---

15. . . . . thyme, . . . cypress of the cemeteries in water thou shalt steep,[2] thou shalt let it stand under the stars; in the morning thou shalt . . . ; without a meal he shall drink (it), and he shall recover.

---

17. If the sole [3] of a man('s foot) is "broken",[4] gum of *Aleppo pine thou shalt dry, pound, in a [small] copper pan in rose-water thou shalt mash, bind on.

---

18. If ditto, poppy thou shalt dry, pound, in fat mix, bind on.

---

19. If the soles of a man'(s feet) are split,[5] thou shalt mix worms of the field [6] in fat (?), bind on.

---

[1] *Nidi ša nûni*, *nidu* meaning anything cast; *nid libbi*, an untimely birth (*PRSM*. 1926, 67), *nid ru'ti*, the spitting of spittle, etc.

[2] *Tar-pa-an*; so also *AM*. 38, 3, 7 (in beer), and *i-ru-pa-an* (also in beer, *AM*. 85, 3, 4), Syr. *r'pan*, *perfusus fuit*.

[3] *Asidu*, Holma, *Körp*. 150; Ungnad, "sole", *ZA*. 1917, 44; also "sole of a shoe" (*SAI*. 4682, Thureau-Dangin, *RA*. 1913, 224). Cf. *E*. xiii, 132; *AH*. 157.

[4] *Pur-ru-ur*. [5] *Latâ*.

[6] *Mubašširu ša ṣêli*, see Landsberger, *Fauna*, 129.

21. *If ditto, the whole scrotum of a river-tortoise* [1] thou shalt dry, bray . . . put [on the place].

If ditto, Ricinus thou shalt dry, bray, bind on:

If ditto, myrrh . . .

If ditto, flour of the plant *BAT.TAR* thou shalt bray, mix in fat, bind on.

If ditto, the skin of . . .

---

23. If the sole of a man'(s foot) continually hurts, thou shalt heat urine in an oven, hot and cold . . .[2] (*Here is AM.* 15, 3, *reverse.*)

---

24. If the under-part of a man's foot pricks him, black sulphur . . .

---

25. If ditto, black sulphur, **Liquidambar*, kelp (?), in oil thou shalt mix, [anoint] the under-part of his foot.

---

26. If a man . . . his foot . . . or with anything either his foot or his finger festers [3] and . . . it suppurates,[4] blood and pus coming forth, a mash of roses, . . . poppy, pig's fat, *Ú.SA*-beer, bitumen thou shalt bind on and it will supp[urate]; . . . dates, 3 grains of gum of **Galbanum* thou shalt bind on;

[1] *Ma-la BIR AL.LUL nâri.* *AL.LUL* = *alluttu* (see Landsberger, *Fauna*, 121), but I prefer to see in it the tortoise rather than the crab, on the grounds that the star *mulAL.LUL* as *Cancer* is represented on the boundary-stones as a tortoise and not as a crab (see *JRAS.* 1929, 804) (which Meissner had probably in mind in quoting *KMI.* No. 1, 5, 20, in his *Bab. Ass.*, ii, 308). Just as *BAL.GI.ḪA* is "tortoise" rather than "crab" owing to the use of its *UŠ* (penis) in medicine (*KAR.* 186, *r.* 18), the tortoise being endowed with a large copulatory organ in the tail, so here will *BIR* show that this *AL LUL* is "*tortoise*" rather than "crab". *BIR* is the scrotum (*BIR birku*, lit. "the bag of the penis, or copulatory organs", *RA.* 1929, 63), *mala*, although *unusual*, must be the word in front of it (and not *-ma* (and) *LA* ("shell"), paralleled by *mala libbi* "all the mind, heart".

[2] *Urine* applied to footsoles tender after marching is an old soldier's remedy.

[3] *Imrud*, Heb. *mârad* "fester", different, of course, from the *tumarraṣ* of *K4.* i, iii, 61.

[4] *Išarrik.*

. . .[1] *mint (?) thou shalt bind on ; . . . [as] a mash thou shalt bind on and he shall recover (?).[2] If ditto, a mash . . . ash of human skull [3] thou shall reduce, bray, [apply] . . . *NAM GAR NAM* in fire thou shalt reduce, bray, [apply].

---

(33) (*Here is AM.* 100, 3, *reverse*). If a man . . . asses' dung . . .

---

(34) If a man's hand (?) . . . If ditto, flour (?) . . .

---

(36) If a man's nail . . . fat of the eye of a male sheep, *saḫlê*, horn . . . locust of the sea,[4] gum of **Galbanum* . . .

---

(39) If a man's nail either falls off [or] . . . fat of the kidney of a male sheep, fat of the eye of a male sheep . . . thou shalt reduce, belemnite (?)[5] gum of [**Galbanum*] . . ., fresh *saḫlê*, . . .

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(43) If a man's nail either falls off [or] . . . fat of the eye of a male sheep, *saḫlê* . . . gum of **Galbanum*, . . .

. . . .

(*KAR.* 192, *r.* 2, continues, in the main, differently from the above. The following are the sections not included above :)

(l. 6 mentions " nine cataplasms ".)

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7. Fat of the kidney of a male sheep, wax (?) . . ., fir-turpentine, gum of **Andropogon* . . ., oil of myrtle, gum of *Aleppo pine . . .

---

10. Fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, myrrh . . ., gum of

[1] *I-ba-šal(rak)*. . . .

[2] *NI.NIŠ*, perhaps *i-nil* (= *ina-el*).

[3] A mystical name for tamarisk, *JRAS.* 1924, 456.

[4] Cf. *AM.* 93, 2, 1 (*JRAS.* 1929, 802) ; Landsberger, *Fauna*, 123.

[5] **Biṣṣur atani*, *DACG.* 109.

[*Galbanum ?], gum of *Aleppo pine, cedar-"blood", . . . -plant, drugs for cataplasms for blains . . .

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13. Dross of an oven,[1] "gum" of barley,[2] husk (?) of barley . . . fine-ground flour thou shalt mix, in rose-water boil, bind it on (as) a cataplasm for . . .

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15. . . . flour of husk (?) of barley, powder of fresh (*BÍL*[pl]) roses, dross [of an oven] in . . . thou shalt bray, bind it on (as) a cataplasm for "heat".[3]

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17. Powder of fruit of pomegranate, powder of fruit of ?, powder of seed of ?, powder of **Arnoglosson*-seed, these four powders on the sickness.

(19–22, *see Col. III*, 31, *of main text.*)

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23. Flour of roast corn, powder of roses, fine-ground flour in oil . . . thou shalt boil; three cataplasms . . .

(25–32 *mutilated.*)

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33. *Saḫlê* in [rose-water (?)] thou shalt mash, flour of roast corn . . . aromatics, **Calendula* on the place thou shalt sprinkle . . . bind it on, a cataplasm for sickness . . .

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36. . . . in rose-water thou shalt mash, fine-ground flour, powder of roses . . . on the place [thou shalt spr]inkle . . . (?)

---

38. (*mutilated, mentioning "gum of *Galbanum" and "old (or roasted) fat"*).

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[1] Text bad here, but read *ḫa-ḫu-ú šá utuni*, like *ḫa-ḫi-e šá utuni*, l. 51 (cf. l. 15), *ḫa-ḫa-a šá utuni*, *KAR.* 186, 6: *aliḳḳakimma ḫaḫâ ša utuni umminu ša diḳari*, *Maḳlû* iii, 116 (. . *BIL* = *ḫa-ḫu-ú*, *CT.* xix, 1, K. 55, 22) It is some form of ash (see *DACG.* 265).

[2] *Ira ša ŠE + BAR + ŠE.*

[3] *Ṣirḫi.*

40. Fir-turpentine, . . . hellebore, myrrh, gum of *Galbanum, . . ., *KANKAL* of dates, . . ., wax of honey, suet of the kidney of a male sheep, . . ., cedar-" blood ", . . . on the fire thou shalt parch.

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43. (*Practically dup. of AM.* 32, 5, 4 : 93, 2, *r.* 6 : *see RA.* 1930, 132, 10.)

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46. Corn-flour,[1] flour of husks (?) of barley, flour of . . . *arsuppu*-[flour], *šigušu*-flour, *IN.NU.ḪA*-flour, *kibatu*-wheat-flour, *Lathyrus*-flour, [fenugreek]-flour, vetch-flour, flour of roast corn, flour of *saḫi* . . . corn, wheat-flour, powder of dung,[2] doves' (?) dung, linseed-flour, flour of . . ., " aromatics " . . . dry . . ., gypsum-powder, powder of dry mucilage (?) of sesame, powder . . ., . . . of the top of an old wall, powder of ash of an old oven, . . ., dross of an old oven, powder of the ash from a dome(d furnace),[3] powder of . . ., powder of *Artemisia*, powder of *balsam, powder of **Sagapenum*,[4] flour of *lidruše*-plant, . . ., flour of manna,[5] flour of cedar, flour of cypress, flour of juniper, flour of fir-turpentine, flour of pi[ne-turpentine (?)], flour of oleander (?), flour of myrrh, flour of myrtle, flour of . . ., flour of *opopanax, [flour] of *Acorus Calamus*, flour of *suadu*, total fifty-six (kinds of) flour . . . a "great ointment,"[6] a cataplasm . . . (ll. 58–9 broken) . . . either cold in beer (?) . . . thou shalt rub in *ḫimetu*-ghee, bind on . . .

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[1] *Kim šibri* ; see Torczyner, *DKAWW.* lv, 1913, *s.v.*, 130.

[2] *Pitri* : see No. 202, col. I, l. (52), note.

[3] See *DACG.* xxv.

[4] *šamḪUM.ḪA* = *bariratu*, *AH.* 172 (e.g., cf. *KAR.* 191, 18, and *AM.* 70, 7, 6).

[5] See my forthcoming article in *AJSL.*

[6] *Šiku rabû(u)*. *Šâku*, *BBR.* 26, i, 24, " anoint " : cf. *AM.* 23, 10, 6, *ina ZAL.LU sa-a-ki ta-sak* : and 8, 7, 4, *ina ZAL.LU sa-a-ki* . . . : *KAR.* 182, *r.* 3, *ZAL.LU sa-a-ki* ; perhaps connected with *sikte* " powder ", for which see *JRAS.* 1931, 17.

KAR. 192, Col. IV.

(The first six lines are mutilated or doubtful, except in l. 5, "Ea who soweth the land.")

. . . the lamb by its hair,[1] the Euphrates by its bank . . . may he provide its alleviation, and set its barrier [against that which seizeth on] me, So-and-so, son of So-and-so.

[2] Its name is [*šû*], the *parkadu*-sickness (rheumatism, or similar) is its nature (?), its nature (?) is not *pakadu*: its name is *šû*; from a star of heaven it has come down, it has come down from a star of heaven; half the poison of the snake it has taken, half the poison of the scorpion it has taken. Mouth it has not, (but) it has a tooth; a tooth it has, it seizes on the muscles; fingers it has not, (but) it seizes on the *kappaltu* (of the foot); like hair it is peeled off, not known (i.e. felt) on the flesh; it has no face (?) . . .; it has seized on the hip, the knee, the loins, the "middle", the shoulders and the back, the "hump", all the muscles, that which has seized on So-and-so, the son of So-and-so, the whole of all of them, is *Sagal*[*lu*] ("swollen muscle"); ever since the day he was born . . . the hand of his god . . .

[3] [It is the charm of Ea and] Marduk, [the charm] of Damu and [Gula], the charm of Nin-aḫa-kuddu, [the mistress of charm]: it is they who have told me, and I have adopted . . . above let not ascend, the evil tongue . . .

Prayer against . . . . . .

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29. Ritual for this: a hair of a male and female lamb, the male lamb . . . thou shalt spin; male and female pumice-stone, cornelian, white coral (?), green vitriol, vitriol (alumen), *zibit*-stone, *abarummu*-stone, lime, magnetic iron ore, pounded chalk (?), geodes of the r[iver (?)] thou shalt thread; *curcuma*

[1] See l. 27.
[2] See *DACG.* 190; *E.*, xiii, 133 ff.
[3] See *PRSM.* 1924, 30.

on red wool thou shalt fold in [seven] folds, bind on . . . and he shall recover.

. . . shall go forth outside.

328.

Appended for information of readers, by direction of the Council of the R.A.S., is a list of works by the same author on similar subjects :—

CUNEIFORM TEXTS.

Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets (British Museum publications), parts xvi, xvii, xxiii.

Assyrian Medical Texts, a volume.

TRANSLATIONS.

The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, 2 vols.

TRANSLATIONS IN VARIOUS JOURNALS OF MEDICAL TEXTS.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

"Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Ears," 1931, 1.

"Assyrian Prescriptions for the Hand of a Ghost," 1929, 801.

Monographs on *KUR.GI.ḪU*, *Šikku*, and *Kamunu*, 1929, 339.

—— On *garidu*, 1926, 723.

—— On *dKUR.KUR*, 1924, 669.

—— Some Notes on Modern Babylonia, 1923, 233.

—— On Mandrake and Tragacanth, 1926, 100.

—— On some Minerals, 1933, 885.

—— On "Whetstone" and "Corundum", 1934, 343.

—— On the *Allalu* bird, 1924, 258.

—— A Babylonian Explanatory text, Medical, 1924, 452.

—— An Assyrian Chemist's Vade Mecum, 1934, 771.

Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, 1931, 53.

"Assyrian Prescription for Ulcers."

American Journal of Semitic Languages.

"Assyrian Prescription for Diseases of the Head," 1907. Re-edited and much enlarged under the title "The Series 'If a man's Cranium holds Inflammation'," in same periodical, 1937.

"Assyrian Prescription for treating Bruises or Swellings," 1930.

Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine.

"Assyrian Medical Texts (Head, Eyes)," 1924.

"Assyrian Medical Texts (Head, Eyes)," 1926.

Revue d'Assyriologie.

"Assyr. Med. Prescription against *Šimmatu* 'Poison'," 1930.

"Assyr. Med. Prescription for Diseases of the Stomach," 1929.

"Assyr. Med. Prescriptions for Diseases of the Chest and Lungs," 1934.

Babyloniaca, xiv, 1934.

"Assyrian Prescriptions for the Urine."
Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.
"The Folklore of Mossoul."
"An Assyrian Incantation against Ghosts," *1906, 219.*
"An Assyrian Incantation against Rheumatism," 1908, 63.
Short article in *Man, 1928, 13* (on *Abnu Šadanu ṣabitu*).
Archiv f Keilschriftforschung, xi, 336. Assyrian Prescriptions for Stone, etc.

VOLUMES ON ALLIED SUBJECTS.

Semitic Magic.
The Assyrian Herbal.
On the Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians.
A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology.

Notice of an unknown Anthology of Ancient Arabic Poetry, "Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab," by Muḥammad b. al-Mubârak b. Muḥammad b. Maimûn

BY S. M. HUSAIN, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON)

AT Oxford, in 1927, while hunting up references to the verses of an unknown anthology of ancient Arabic poetry, which I hope to present shortly to the students of Arabic, I came to find mention of another unknown anthology of Ancient Arabic poetry: *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab*[1] by Muḥammad b. al-Mubârak b. Muḥammad b. Maimûn,[2] said to contain one thousand Arabic odes.[3] Although the anthologist, Muḥammad b. al-Mubârak b. Muḥammad b. Maimûn, was no familiar figure in Arabic literary history, the name of the anthology and the note about its enormous extent at once struck me and led me to think that it was a very valuable work. So I at once consulted the well-known expert, Mr. (now Dr.) F. Krenkow about it. Mr. Krenkow informed me that he also had come across the name of this anthology, most probably in the catalogue of the books in the late De Slane's library. Afterwards, when I visited Germany and met Dr. Hommel of Munich, he felt immensely interested in this anthology, and suggested to me to be on the look-out for it in my intended Near East tour especially in the libraries of Istanbul and Damascus. As a matter of fact, in Istanbul I came upon a codex of this work in the library of Laleli, where it is numbered 1941. But this codex, 2·1 c.m. × 1·5 c.m., containing 164 folios, was only a small part—one-sixth—of the whole work. Again in Cairo I found two manuscripts of the *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab* in the

[1] *Khizânat-u 'l-Adab*, vol. i, pp. 10, 366, 448, and 405; and vol. iv, p. 238.
[2] Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 421, 467; vol. iii, p. 164; and vol. iv, pp. 40, 373.
[3] Ibid., vol. i, p. 10.

Royal library. One of them is identical with the Istanbul codex and the other contains only a single fasciculus of the entire work. The Istanbul codex gives no provenance or date, and is apparently older than its Cairene counterpart, which bears at its end the date of transcription—the 11th Jumâdâ 'l-Ulâ, A.H. 995.

It would appear that both these copies were transcripts of a copy made from Muḥammad b. al-Mubârak's own manuscript. The Istanbul manuscript has lost the fly-leaf, which in the Royal manuscript supplies the title of the work and the name of the compiler : منتهى الطلب من أشعار العرب تاليف الإمام الأديب محمد بن المبارك بن محمد بن ميمون On the second page of both the manuscripts is found a note on the contents of the whole work, followed by a note and a table of the contents of the present volume, with which the copyist from the compiler's manuscript may be credited. The great work is thus said to comprise from its beginning to its end—divided into six volumes—the compositions of 264 poets, 1,051 full odes with 29 fragments : 39,990 verses. The present volume, which, apparently, and as also mentioned in the last page of the Royal copy, is the first of the six volumes into which the work is divided, contains the compositions of 58 poets, 219 odes with two fragments : 7,264 verses. This note is followed by the preface of the anthologist, Muḥammad b. al-Mubârak b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maimûn, who is reported to have said, after the usual doxology and homage to the Prophet and his family, as follows :—

"I have collected in this book one thousand odes which I selected from the composition of those Arabic poets whose verses are often cited as authoritative and have named it *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab*. I have divided the collection into ten parts and collected in each part one hundred odes, writing on the margin the meanings of the rare words occurring in them. I included in the Anthology from the Mufaḍḍalian poems and the selections of al-Aṣma'î, the

Naqâ'iḍ of Jarîr and al-Farazdaq and the poems which Abû Bakr b. Duraid mentioned in his book, called *al-Shawârid*, the best of the Hudhalian poems, and from the poetry of those whom Ibn Sallâm al-Jumaḥî mentioned in the *Kitâb al-Ṭabaqât*. I did not exclude any of the Pagan and Islamic poets whose verses are cited in *belles-lettres*, unless it were for the fact that I had not come upon the collection of his poetry and did not find it in *waqf* and other libraries. Of course, I took from the compositions of each of the poets whom I included in my Collection, the choicest and most elegant of his compositions; if a critic closely examines my selections, he will recognize the truth of my assertion. I made these selections, having spent sixty years, after my boyhood, in the perusal of poetry. I got many of them by rote from my masters, Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Khashshâb and Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Nâṣir and others whom I met, and wrote down most of the *dîwâns* containing these poems. I wanted to compile this work according to an arrangement of the poets, some of them taking precedence over others. But it was not possible as I could not find out any such arrangement, for which I must offer my apology. I put Ka'b b. Zuhair first and concluded the work with the *Hâshimîyât* of al-Kumait in order to take blessings from the panegyric on the Apostle of Allâh (May Allâh bless him and grant him peace) in the ode of Ka'b and from the mention of the Prophet (May Allâh bless him and his family) in the *Hâshimîyât* with which I have concluded the book. The compilation of this book was made at Baghdâd during the months of the two years A.H. 588 and 589. I became acquainted with many works of poetry that I collected and I did not see anybody who had acquired as many of these books as I did. Now, I beseech Allâh to send His blessings on Muḥammad and his family and to bless this book and lend His help to those who apply themselves to it."

From this preface it will be found that the anthologist divided his book into ten parts, each part containing 100

lengthy odes. The note on the contents of the work, as found in both the Istanbul and Cairene codices, however, mentions that the work is divided into six parts. But it must be due to a redaction made by some transcriber from the author's manuscript, who divided the work into six volumes, of which the manuscripts in question contain the first volume, comprising a little more than two parts of Muḥammad b. al-Mubârak's collection. For, in both these manuscripts is found after the 104th poem [1] the note: "End of the first part in the original manuscript"; and this is what the compiler wrote at the end of the first part: "Here end the hundred selected odes and with these is ended the first part of the thousand odes in the book which I named *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab.*" Again, after the 194th poem [2] we find: "End of the second part in the original manuscript," and at the end of the second part in the original was found in the hand-writing of Ibn Maimûn: "This is the end of the second part of the book which I named *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab* and I included in this part one hundred poems selected from the well-known *dîwâns.*" Thus both in the preface and at the end of the first and second parts of the work Ibn Maimûn mentioned that he put together 100 odes in each part. In our manuscripts the first part is found to contain 104 poems, four of which must be additional pieces. For poem No. 62 is mentioned in the manuscript [3] as besides the thousand selected odes, and poem No. 85 [4] is said not to be included amongst the selected poems. Similarly in the second part also we find a note by the Compiler on poem No. 147 [5]: "I put down this piece on account of its exquisite beauty but it does not come under the number of my selections." Hence we can account for the additional fifty-one odes and twenty-nine fragments over and above 1,000 odes, as mentioned in the note on the contents of the entire work. The second

[1] Folio 80r. [2] Folio 150r. [3] Folio 51r.
[4] Folio 67v. [5] Folio 119v.

part, however, is found to contain only ninety poems. It must be due to the redaction I have referred to above.

In the Royal library of Cairo I also came across a codex of a collection containing the *Dîwân* of Laqîṭ al-Iyâdî [1] and of al-Ḥâdirah [2] and the commentary on the *Dîwân* of Abu Miḥjan al-Thaqafî [3] and on the *Dîwân* on 'Alqamah al-Faḥl.[4] As stated in the colophon,[5] it was transcribed by a scribe, named Ismâ'il Ḥaqqî, who came originally from Africa and was domiciled in Syrian Tripoli. The scribe betrays his *Maghribî* origin by writing sometimes ق with one dot and putting the dot of ف underneath. The first part of this codex— which contains thirty-three poems by Jarîr, thirty by al-Farazdaq, nine by al-Akhtal, three by Qais b. al-Khaṭîm, one poem by Ka'b b. Sa'd al-Ghanawî, one by al-Shanfarâ and one by Ta'abbata Sharran and three poems by al-Aḥwaṣ Muḥammad b. 'Âṣim b. Thâbit al-Anṣârî— claims to be a part of the *Muntaha al-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab* by (Muḥammad b.) al-Mubârak b. Maimûn al-Baghdâdî, although it thus contains only eighty-one poems. The author of the *Khizânah* has quoted from seven poems in this part, viz. from three poems by al-Farazdaq,[6] two poems by Jarîr,[7] one poem by Qais b. al-Khaṭîm,[8] and one by Ka'b b. Sa'd al-Ghanawî,[9] and mentioned them as selected by Muḥammad b. al-Mubârak in his *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab*. No poem in the first two parts, as contained in the Istanbul codex, is found quoted in the *Khizânah*, which mentions three other poems by Muslim b. Ma'bad al-Wâlibî,[10] Muzâḥim al-Uqailî,[11] and Kuthaiyir 'Azzah [12] as belonging to this anthology.

[1] Folios 248-256.
[2] Folios 258-270.
[3] Folios 272-291.
[4] Folios 292-318.
[5] Folio 347v.
[6] *Khizânat-u 'l-Adab*, i, 463, ii, 467, and iv, 40.
[7] Ibid., i, 448 and 463.
[8] Ibid., iii, 164.
[9] Ibid., iv, 373.
[10] Ibid., i, 396.
[11] Ibid., iv, 255.
[12] Ibid., ii, 421.

That the *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab* is an anthology of the best compositions of all those pagan and Islamic poets who are often quoted in *belles lettres*, as mentioned by the anthologist in his preface, may be accepted on the authority of a literateur like 'Abdu'l-Qâdir al-Baghdâdî (d. A.H. 1093), whose *Khizânat-u 'l-Adab* is, as we know, an exposition of the citations in the commentary of the *Kâfiyah*, containing biographical sketches of the poets and scholars of the pagan and early Islamic periods who are oft-quoted as authorities.[1]

But nothing can be known about the anthologist, Muḥammad b. al-Mubârak b. Muhammad b. Muḥammad b. Maimûn from our sources of biographical reference. The second manuscript of the Royal library gives the name as al-Mubârak b. Maimûn al-Baghdâdî and the redactionist in his notes in the other MSS. often calls him simply Ibn Maimûn. That he was a native of Baghdâd may also be gathered from the preface in which he says that he made his compilation at Madînat-u 'l-Salâm. Thus, probably, the work came to be known to 'Abdu'l-Qâdir al-Baghdâdî, the author of the *Khizânah*. Al-Khatîb al-Baghdâdî, however, does not mention him in his history of Baghdâd. Yâqût mentions in his *Mu'jam-u 'l-Udabâ'*[2] one Muḥammad b. Maimûn, of Cordova, a skilled grammarian and well-known scholar, who wrote a commentary on the *Maqâmât* of al-Ḥarîrî, but we have no chronological data from which we could suppose that our anthologist's father or grandfather came to Baghdâd from Cordova. From the preface of the book, which mentions the years 588 and 589 as the date of its compilation, we learn that the anthologist spent sixty years in the study of Arabic poetry before beginning to compile his work. This gives the sixth century as the age in which he flourished, being born within its first quarter. We further learn from this preface that he read most of the poems of his selections with his masters,

[1] J. Zaidân, *Târîkh-u Âdâb-i 'l-Lughat-i 'l-'Arabîyah*, vol. iii, 288.
[2] *Vol. vii, p. 112.*

Abû Muḥammad 'Abdullah b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Khashshâb and Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Nâṣir. The former was a pupil of al-Jawâlîqî, who died at Baghdâd in A.H. 539,[1] and the name of the latter, whom Yâqût mentions in his *Mu'jam al-Udabâ'*,[2] is Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nâṣir al-Sulamî.

Muḥammad b. al-Mubârak often mentions the occasion of the poems of his collection, and sometimes traces his sources as far back as could be ascertained. For instance, on the first poem in the anthology he notes: "A panegyric on the Prophet by Ka'b b. Zuhair. I read it in the year A.H. 542 with my master Aḥmad b. 'Alî b. al-Samîn, who delivered it to me, having got it from Abû Zakarîyâ Yaḥyâ b. 'Alî al-Khaṭîb, who got it from Abû 'Amr Muḥammad b. al-'Abbâs b. Hayawayah al-Jazzâr, who got it from Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim al-Anbârî, who got it from his father, who got it from 'Abdullâh b. 'Amr who got it from al-Ḥajjâj b. Dhu 'l-Ruqaibah b. 'Abd-u 'l-Raḥmân b. Ka'b b. Zuhair al-Muzainî, who got it from his father, who got it from his grandfather, who got it from Ka'b.

The anthologist also sometimes makes interesting remarks and important observations. Thus, regarding a poem of Jarîr,[3] he observes that it is the last of three best poems by Jarîr, which the poet uttered satirizing al-Farazdaq, but yet it does not occur in the *Naqâ'id*. The author of the *Khizânah* quotes verbatim this criticism of Ibn Maimûn. Again about 'Ubaidullâh b. al-Ḥurr [4] the anthologist says that al-Sukkarî reckons him amongst the Luṣûṣ, but he was not a bandit, although he gathered a rabble for leading expeditions. From al-Sukkarî's *Kitâb al-Luṣûṣ*, which, unfortunately, has been irretrievably lost, six other poets and, in all, nineteen poems are found included in the second part of the *Muntaha*

[1] Suyûṭî, *Bughyât-u 'l-Wu'ât*.
[2] Vol. i, p. 217, and vol. vii, pp. 209, 286, and 289.
[3] Folio 47r.
[4] Folio 129r.

'l-Ṭalab: four poems by 'Ubaid b. Ayyûb al-Anbârî, three by al-Khaṭîm al-Muḥrizî, two by Jaḥdar b. Mu'âwiyah b. Ja'dah al 'Ukalî, one poem by al-Samharî b. Bishr al-'Ukalî, one by Ṭahmân b. 'Amr al-Kilâbî, four poems by the above-mentioned 'Ubaidullāh b. al-Ḥurr and four by al-Qattâl, whose name is given as 'Abdullāh b. Mujîb al-Kilâbî. In the other parts of our anthology which are yet unknown, we could probably find far more materials for the reconstruction of al-Sukkarî's interesting work, on which one of our research students has been engaged. Similarly from the *Mufaḍḍalîyât* fourteen poems are found in the first part,[1] twenty in the second part,[2] and two [3]—one by Ta'abbaṭa Sharran and one by al-Shanfarâ—in the unknown part of the second Cairene manuscript. In the other seven parts of the work we could not only expect to find some more selections from these two collections, but we could also have got a large number of selections from the *Asma'iyât*. As I have shown elsewhere, the collections of al-Aṣma'î have come down to us very incomplete in Ahlwardt's edition of the Vienna codex of the *Aṣma'iyât*. If the selections made from the *Aṣma'iyât* in the *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab*, as mentioned in its preface, were before us, we might have in them some valuable additions to Ahlwardt's edition.

In this short paper I just draw the attention of Arabists to this anthology of vast extent, interest, and importance, of which I could discover only one-third or a little more than three out of its ten parts. Several scholars from Europe and India have made inquiries of me about its contents. I therefore give below a list of the poems included in these parts, arranged in the alphabetical order of the names of the poets, with the first hemistichs, numbers of verses, and

[1] *Mufaḍḍalîyât*, ed Sir Charles Lyall, Nos ix, xviii, xxi, xxii, xxiv, xxv, xxx, xliv, xcvi–xcix, and cxxiv.

[2] Ibid., Nos. v, vi, x, xv, xvii, xxvii–xxix, xxxi, xxxiv–xxxvi, xli, xlii, xlvii, lxvii, lxxvi, lxxxix, xci, and cv

[3] Ibid., Nos. i and xx.

numbers of the folios in the Laleli and the Royal manuscripts.

In the first two parts of the *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab* will be found notices of the *dîwâns* of several poets that are yet unknown to us. I may mention the poets Bishr b. Abî Khâzim, 'Urwah b. Udhainah, al-Aswad b. Ya'fur, al-Shamardal, al-Mutawakkil b. 'Abdullah al-Laithî, Tamîm b. Ubaiy b. Muqbil, Kuthaiyir 'Azzah,[1] and Jamîl. From the number of their poems included, it is evident that the anthologist had access to the *dîwâns* of these poets. Not a few of these and other selections in the first two parts of our anthology are insufficiently known, and some are altogether unknown.[2] How much more could we expect to find like these poems in the remaining seven parts, if they came to light!

Folio.	*No. of Verses.*	*First hemistich.*	*No. of Poems.*	*Name of Poet.*
104v	48	أقوت رواوة من أسماء فالسند	3	الأحوص (محمد بن عاصم بن ثابت) الأنصارى
105v	42	يا بيت عاتكة الذى اتعزل		
106v	53	ا فى كل يوم حبة القلب تقرع		
87v	38	ألا يا اسْلَمِى يا أم بشر على الهجر	9	الأخطل
88v	67	عفا واسط من آل رضوى فنبتل		
90r	47	كذ بتك عينك ام رأيت بواسط . . (لا)		
91r	55	لمن الديار بحائل فوعال		
92v	54	هل تعرف اليوم من ماوية الطللا		
93v	47	تغير الرسم من سلمى بأجفار		
95r	49	عفا الجوف من سلمى فبادت رسومها		
96r	47	ألا يا اسْلَمِى يا هند هند بنى بدر		
97r	84	خفّ القطينُ فراحوا منك أو بكروا		

[1] Kuthaiyir's *Dîwân*, with the commentary of Abû 'Abdullâh al-Rashîdî, is known to exist in a manuscript of the Escurial library.

[2] For example, out of the thirteen poems by 'Abîd b. al-Abraṣ five will not be found in the Poet's *Dîwân*, edited by Sir Charles Lyall.

Folio.	*No of Verses.*	*First hemistich.*	*No. of Poems.*	*Name of Poet.*
130v	27	لِإبْنة حطان بن عوف مازل	1	الأخنس بن شهاب التغلبى
42r	36	نام الخليُّ وما أحس رقادى	6	الأسود بن يعفر
43v	34	هل بالمنازل إن كلمتها خرس		
43v	30	أ بينت رسم الدار لم تتبين		
44v	28	الا حى سلمى فى الخليط المفارق		
45r	23	هل الشبب فات من مطلب		
45v	16	أجارتنا غضى من السير أو قفى		
66r	20	ودّع لَميس وداع الصارم اللاحى..(ح)	8	أوس بن حجر التيمى
68r	26	عينىّ لابد من سكب وتهمال		
69r	13	أيتها النفس أجْملى جزعا		
69r	26	هل عاجل من متاع الحى مظور		
70r	24	حلت تماضر بعدنا ربيا		
70v	52	سلا قلبه عن سكره فتأملا		
71v	57	تنكر بعدي من أميمة صائف		
73r	41	تنكرت منا بعد معرفة لمى		
149v	21	جلبنا الخيل من جنبى أريك (م)	1	أوس بن غلفاء الهجيمى
88v	37	هجرت أمامة هجرا جميلا	1	بشامة بن عمرو
41v	17	لمن الديار عفون بالجزع	1	بشامة بن الغدير
74r	38	أحقٌ ما رأيت أم احتلام	9	بشر بن ابى خازم
74v	27	لمن الديار عشيتها بالأنعم		
75v	17	هل أت عن أطلال مية رابع		
75v	16	هل لعيش إذا مضى لزوال		
76r	20	تغيرت المنازل بالكثيب		
76v	50	الا بان الخليط ولم يزاروا		
77v	21	عفت من سليمى رامة فكثيبها		
78r	20	أ سائلة عميرة عن أبيها . . (با)		
78v	24	كفى بالنأى من أسماء كاف		

Folio.	No. of Verses.	First hemistich.	No. of Poems.	Name of Poet.
104r	26	ياهيدَ ما لك من شوق وايراق	1	تأبط شرا
28v	42	سل الدار من جنبى حبّر فواهب	11	تميم بن أبى بن مقبل
29v	23	دعتنا بكهف من كنايين دعوة . . (ح)		
30r	46	أناظر الوصل أم غاد فصروم . . (لا)		
31r	41	دعتنا عتيبة من عالج . . (لا)		
32r	53	هل أنت محيى الربع أم انت سائله		
33r	28	شطت نوى من يحلّ السر فالشرفا		
33v	32	هل القلب عن دهماء سالٍ فسمخ		
34v	39	للمازنية مصطاف ومرتبع		
36r	22	يا صاحبى انظرانى لا عد متكما . . (ر)		
36r	35	طاف الخيال بنا ركبا يمانينا		
36v	50	تأمل خليلى هل ترى ضوْ بارق . . (را)		
20v	41	نأتك بليلى دارها لا تزورها	3	توبة بن الحير
21r	13	الا هل فؤادى من صبا اليومَ صافح		
21v	19	رمانى بليلى الأخيلية قومها		
94r	24	هل عند عَمْرة من بتات مسافر	1	ثعلبة بن صعير
146r	25	الا يا لقوم للجديد المصرَّم	1	جابر بن حنى التغلبى
125r	21	تاوبنى قبتٌ لها . . (ن)	2	جعدر بن معاوية بن جعدة العكلى
125v	26	إنى أرقت لبرق ضافنى سارى		
46r	27	بان الخليط فهالتك التهاويل	5	جران العود
46v	48	الا لا يغرن امرأ نوفلية . . (ح)		
47v	72	ذكرت الصبى فانهلت العين تذرف		
50r	45	بان الأنيس فما للقلب معقول		
50v	32	طربنا حين راجعنا ادّكار		

Folio.	No. of Verses.	First hemistich.	No. of Poems.	Name of Poet.
1v	39	حيِّى الهد ملة من ذات المواعيس	33	جرير بن عطية
2v	63	لمن الديار رسومهن بوال		
4r	42	ما هاج شوقا من رسوم ديار		
5r	79	ألا حى ربع المنزل المتقادم		
7r	105	أقلى اللوم عاذل و العتابا		
9r	65	أجد رواح البين أم لا تروح		
11r	69	أ زرتَ ديار الحى أم لا تزورها		
12v	74	ألا أيها القلب الطروف المكلف		
14v	95	ألم ترأن الحل أقصر باطله		
16v	67	ذكرت وصال البيض والشيب شائع		
18v	29	أمن ذى عهد تفيض مد امعى . . (ل)		
19r	64	لا خير فى مستعجلات الملاوم		
20v	34	تعللنا أمـامة بالعرات		
21v	36	ألا بكرت سلمى فجر بكورها		
22v	53	لمن طلل هاج الفؤاد المتيما		
23v	41	ألا حى بالردين دارا لاأرى . . (مها)		
24v	65	عوجى علينا واربعى ربة النغل		
26r	55	ألا حى رهبى ثم حى المطاليا		
27v	62	لمن الديار كأنها لم تحلل		
29r	25	سمت لى نطرة فرأيت برقا . . (ر)		
29v	32	ألا حى الديار سعد إنى . . (را)		
30v	26	سرت الهموم فبتن غير نيـام		
31r	35	زار الفرزدق أهل الحجاز . . (د)		
32r	19	لست بمعطى الحكم من شف منصب		
32v	82	أقنا وربتنا الديار ولا أرى . . (عا)		
34v	115	لولا الحياء حرى لنا استعبار		
37r	92	لمن الديـار ببرقة الروحان		
39v	37	فإن أمير المؤمنين حَباكم . . (د)		
40v	106	أ من ربع دارهم أن يتغيرا		
43r	54	عرفت الدار بعد بلى الخيام		
44r	53	ألا حى المنازل بالجناب		

Folio.	No. of Verses.	First hemistich.	No. of Poems.	Name of Poet.
45v	69	ألا زارت وأهل منى هجود		
47r	57	أهوى أراك برامتين وقودا		
80v	39	أ لم تسأل الربع القواء فينطق	10	جميل
81r	36	ألا ليت أيام الصفاء جديد		
82r	17	لقد لامنى فيها أخ ذو قرابة . . (د)		
82r	17	حلت بثينة من قلبى بمنزلة . . (د)		
82v	28	طربت وهاج الشوق منى ربعا . (ف)		
84v	58	عفا برد من أم عمرو فلفلف		
85r	23	عاودت من جمل قديم صبابتى . (يا)		
85v	24	لقد أورثت قلبى وكان مصححا (وها)		
86v	31	وغر الثنايا من ربيعة أعرضت . . (ن)		
87v	39	أ من ليلى تغتدى أم تروح		
56v	83	آذنتنا ببينها أسماء	2	الحارث بن حلزة
57r	14	لمن الديار عفون بالحبس		
144r	23	نأت سلمى وأمست فى عدو . . (با)	1	الحارث بن ظالم المرى
61v	39	جزى الله أفناء العشيرة كلها . (ما)	1	الحضين بن الحمام
121r	63	أبت لى سعد أن أضام ومالك (ر)	3	الحطيم المحرزى
122v	60	وقائلة يوما و قد جئت زائرا (دا)		
124r	26	نزلنا بمخشى الردى آجن الصرى (ل)		
10v	38	ألا طرقت أسماء من غير مطرق	5	خفاف بن عمير
11r	28	ألا تلك عرسى إذ أمعرت		
11v	18	أوحش النخل من نعامل فالروضات (د)		
12r	25	ما هاجك اليوم من رسم وأطلال		
12v	18	ألا صرمت من سلمى الزماما		
12r	30	أرث جديد الحبل من أم معبد	5	دريد بن الصمة

Folio	No. of Verses.	First hemistich.	No. of Poems	Name of Poet.
122r	24	هل مثل قلبك فى الهوى معدور		
122v	15	إن يك رأسى كالثغامة سله . . (د)		
122v	18	وقاك الله يا ابنة آل عمرو . . . (س)		
123r	16	غشيت برابع طللا مُحيلا		
94r	32	إنكما صاحبى لن تدعا	2	ذو الإصبع
95r	30	يا من لقلب شديد الهم محزون		
51r	32 (ر)	اقول لأصحابى الرواح فقربوا . .	1	الرحال بن محدوح السيرى
52v	23	أ من آل سلمى ذا الخيال المؤرق	1	زهير بن جناب
16r	33	أودى الشباب حميدا ذو التعاجيب	2	سلامة بن جندل
16v	38	لمن طلل مثل الكتاب المنمق		
88r	16 (ر)	إذا عدوتم عامدين لأرضنا	2	سلمة بن الخرشب الأنمارى
88r	16 (م)	تأوبه خيال من سليمى . .		
124v	19	ألا حى ليلى قد ألم لمامها	1	السمهرى بن بشر العكلى
129r	21 (ح)	ألم ترأن الحى فرق بينهم . .	1	شبيب بن البرصاء المرى
123v	32	بان الخليط فأدلجوا بسواد	6	الشمردل
124r	66	طربت و ذو الحلم قد يطرب		
125v	42 (له)	لعمرى لئن غالت أخى دار فرقة . .		
126v	29	إن الخليط أجد منك بكورا		
127v	47	بان الخليط بحبل الود فانطلقوا		
128v	21 (ق)	أ أنكرت أطلال الرسوم وقد ترى . .		
103r	33	أرى أم عمرو أزمعت فاستقلت	1	الشنفرى
126r	32 (ق)	سقى دار ليلى بالرقاشين مسبل . .	1	طهمان بن عمرو الكلابى
144v	29 (ما)	من مبلغ سعد بن ذبيان مالكا . .	1	عامر الخصفى

Folio.	*No. of Verses.*	*First hemistich.*	*No. of Poems.*	*Name of Poet.*
24r	19	تأوبنى بعارمة الهموم	1	عبد الله بن الخير
24v	17	ألا صرمت حبائلنا جَنوب	1	عبد الله بن سليمة
79v	18	ألا لا تلومانى كفى اللوم ما بيا	1	عبد يغوث بن وقاص
92r	80	هل حبل خولة بعد الهجر موصول	2	عبدة بن الطبيب
93v	28	أ بنى إنى قد كبرت و رابنى .. (ع)		
61v	17	أمن منزل عاف ومن رسم أطلال	13	عبيد بن الأبرص
62r	18	تغيرت الديار بذى الدفين		
62r	25	يا ذا المحوّفنا بقتل ابيه إذلالاً وحَيْنا		
63r	18	يا خليلى قفا و استخبرا . . . (ل)		
63v	23	لمن الديار بصاحة فحروس		
64r	18	يا دار هند عفاها كل هطال		
64r	20	تحاول رسما من سليما دكادكا		
64v	14	أ من أم سلم تلك لا تستريح		
65r	22	أ من رسوم آيها ناحل		
65v	24	أقفر من أهله ملحوب		
66v	36	أ من دمنة أقوت بحوة سرغد		
67r	14	لمن جمال قُبيل الصبح مزمومَهْ		
67v	7	سقى الربابَ مُجلجِل الأكناف لَمّاع بروقُهْ		
19v	3	لقد خفت حتى لو تمر حمامة . . . (ر)	4	عبيد بن أيوب العنبرى
19v	24	اراك وذئب القفر خدنين بعد ما...(ر)		
20r	32	كأن لم اقد سبحانك الله فتية . . (له)		
21r	24	ليت الذى سحرت منى ومن جلى. (ر)		
19r	20	ألم تعلمى يا أم توبة أننى . . . (ود)	4	عبيد الله بن الحر
20r	20	ألم تعلمى يا أم توبة أننى . . . (ج)		
20r	19	من مبلغ الفتيان أن أخاهم . . (به)		
20v	21	لنعم ابن اخت القوم يسجن مصعب..(ل)		

Folio.	No of Verses.	First hemistich.	No. of Poems.	Name of Poet.
95v	45	أ عرصة الدار أم توهمها	11	عروة بن أذينة
96v	35	يا ديار الحي بالأجه		
97v	37	أ في رسوم محل غير مسكون		
98v	40	أما قتلت ديار الحي عرفانا		
99r	86	صرمت سعيدة ودها وحلالها		
101r	42	بخلت رقاش بودها ونوالها . . (شا)		
102r	51	يا حبذا الدار بالروحاء من دار		
103r	41	أ من حب سعدى و تذكارها		
104r	69	سرى لك طيف زار من أم عاصم		
105v	76	أ هاجتك دار الحي وحشا حبابها		
107r	38	صرمت سعيدة صرما حاثا		
117v	16	أرقت وصحبتي بمضيق عمق . . (ر)	5	عروة بن الورد
118r	29	أقلي عليّ اللوم يا ابنة منذر		
118v	15	أ في ناب منحناها فقيرا . . (ت)		
119r	11	أ ليس ورائي أن أدب على العصا . . (ل)		
119r	11	أ لم تعرف منازل أم عمرو . . . (ن)		
17v	98	هل ما علمت و ما استودعت مكتوم	3	علقمة بن عبدة
18v	34	طحا بك قلب في الحسان طروب		
19v	43	ذهبت من الهجران في غير مذهب		
13r	28	أرى جارتي خفت وخف نصيحها	5	عمرو بن قمئة
14r	14	إن أك قد أقصرت عن طول رحلة . . . (م)		
14r	19	هلا يهيج شوقك الطلل		
14v	28	نأتك أمامة إلا سؤالا		
15r	29	نأتك أمامة إلا سؤالا		
57v	91	ألا هبي بصحنك فأصبحينا	1	عمرو بن كلثوم التغلبي
52v	75	هل غادر الشعراء من متردم	5	عنترة بن عمرو بن شداد العبسي

Folio.	*No. of Verses.*	*First hemistich.*	*No. of Poems.*	*Name of Poet.*
54r	17	طال الوقوف على رسوم المنزل		
54v	25	نأتك رقاش إلا عن لمام		
55r	43	عفا الرسوم و باقى الأطلال		
56r	18	يا عبل أين من المنية مهربى . . . (ها)		
129v	20	هدمت الحياض فلم يغادر . . (آء)	2	عوف بن الأحوص
130r	17	ومستنبح يخشى القواء و دونه . . (رها)		
40v	40	أ من آل ليلى عرفت الديارا	1	عوف بن عطية
48v	95	لا قوم أ كرم من تميم إذ غدت . . (ل)	30	الفرزدق
51r	39	نحن بزوراء المدينة ناقتى . . . (ر)		
52r	147	يا ابن المراغة إنما جاريتنى . . (ر)		
55v	69	أنا ابن العاصمين بنى تميم . . (با)		
57r	97	عرفت بأعلى الرس إلفا بعدما . . .(رها)		
59v	115	عزفت بأعشاش و ما كدت تعزف		
62r	80	سموا لنجران اليمانى و أهله		
64r	45	منا الذى اختير الرجال سماحة . . (ع)		
65r	28	أ تنسى بنو سعد جدود التى بها . .(ل)		
66r	40	ود جرير اللوم لو كان عانيا . . . (م)		
67r	39	حلفت برب مكة و المصلى . . (ت)		
68r	15	إن تك كلبا من كليب فإننى . . (ق)		
68v	26	ألا استهزأت منى هنيدة أن رأت. .(ل)		
69r	28	أ لم ترأنى يوم جو سويقة . . . (يا)		
69v	99	إن الذى سمك السماء بنى لنا . . (ل)		
72r	23	اقول لصاحبى من التعزى . . . (ر)		
72v	37	جر المخزيات على كليب . . (را)		
73v	24	عفا المنازل آخر الأيام		
74r	42	عرفت المنازل من مهدد		
75r	19	تقول كليب حين مشت سبالها . . (ب)		
76r	17	عجبت لتمادينا المقحم سيره . . (عا)		

Folio	*No of Verses*	*First hemistich.*	*No. of Poems.*	*Name of Poet.*
76r	86 (ر)	أ عرفت بين رويتين و حنبل		
68r	25	يا ابن المراغة والهجاء إذا التقت .. (ن)		
70r	86 (ر)	محت الديار فأذهبت عرصاتها		
80v	43	بني نهشل أبقوا عليكم و لم تروا . . (ر)		
81v	12	بين إذا نزلت عليك مجاشع . . . (ع)		
81v	22	ألا من لمعتاد من الهم عائد		
82v	85	أ لستم عائجين بنا لَعَنّا . . . (م)		
85r	17	اخال الباهلي يظن أني . . (ب)		
85v	27	هذا الذي تعرف البطحاء وطأته . . (م)		
127r	22	نظرت وقد جلى الدجى طاسم الصوى . (ل)	4	القتال الكلابي
127r	29	صرمت شميلة وحبة فتجلد		
128r	23	لطيبة ربع بالكليبين دارس		
128v	25	طعنت قطاة فما تقولك صاحا		
99r	18	تذكر ليلى حسنها وصفاءها	5	قيس بن الخطيم
99v	19	أجد بعمرة غنيانها		
100r	38	أ تعرف رسما كالطراد المذاهب		
101r	7	رد الخليط الجمال فانصرفوا		
101r	12	إذا المرء لم يشبه أباه و جده		
150r	78 (لها)	خليلي إن أم الحكيم تحملت .	16	كثير بن عبد الرحمن الخزاعي
152r	23	ألا يا لقوم للنوى و انتقالها		
152v	48	ألا حييا ليلى أجد رحيلي		
153v	38	خليلي هذا ربع عزة فاعقلا . (ت)		
154v	55	أ لم تربع فتخبرك الطلول		
155v	29	لعزة من أيام ذي الغصن هاجني. (م)		
156v	53	لعزة أطلال أبت أن تكلما		
157v	53	عفت غيقة من أهلها فحريمها		
158v	31	أ شاقك برق آخر الليل واصب		

Folio.	No. of Verses.	First hemistich.	No. of Poems.	Name of Poet.
159r	30	عفا السفح من أم الوليد فكبكب		
160r	46	ألا طرقت بعد العشاء جنوب		
161r	26	أ بائنة سعدى نعم ستبين		
161v	30	لقد كنت للمظلوم عزا و ناصرا . . . (نها)		
162r	46	لعزة هاج الشوق فالدمع سافح		
163r	21	ألم يحزنك يوم غدت حدوج		
163v	30	ألا ان ناءت سلمى فأنت عميد		
6r	56	بانت سعاد فقلبي اليوم متبول	5	كعب بن زهير
7v	31	من سره كرم الحياة فلا يزل . . (ر)		
8r	41	لمن دمنة الدار أقوت سنينا		
9r	30	أ من أم شداد رسوم المنازل		
9v	28	هل حبل رملة قبل البين مبتور		
101r	45	تقول سليمى ما لجسمك شاحبا . .(ب)	1	كعب بن سعد الغنوى
22r	35	طربت وما هذا بساعة مطرب	3	ليلى الأخيلية
23r	45	نظرت و دونى من عماية منكب . . (ر)		
24r	17	يا عين بكى توبة ابن الحمير		
108r	72	للغانيات بذى المجاز رسوم	7	المتوكل الليثى
110r	62	قفى قبل التفرق يا أماما		
110r	61	أجد اليوم جيرانك احتمالا		
112v	71	صرمتك ريطة بعد طول وصال		
114r	47	خليلىّ عوجا اليوم وانتظرانى		
115r	44	نام الخلى فنوم العين تسهيد		
116r	56	يا ريط هل لى عندكم نائل		
132r	29	ألا إن هندا أمس رث جديدها	3	المثقب العبدى
133r	45	أ فاطم قبل بينك متعينى		
144r	16	لا تقولن إذا ما لم ترد		

Folio.	*No. of Verses.*	*First hemistich.*	*No. of Poems.*	*Name of Poet.*
38r	45	ذكر الرباب و ذكرها سقم	3	المخبل
40r	49	أ عرفت من سلمى رسوم ديار		
40v	41	عفا العرض بعدى من سليمى فعائله		
148r	19	أ من رسم دار ماء عينك يسفح	3	المرقش الأصغر
148v	22	الا يا اسلمى لا صرم لى اليوم فاطما		
149r	19	لابنة عجلان بالجو رسوم		
146v	18	أ من آل أسماء الطلول الدوارس	3	المرقش الأكبر
147r	17	الا بان جيرانى ولست بعائف		
147v	35	هل بالديار إن تجيب صمم		
89v	32	الا يا لقوم و السفاهة كاسمها . . . (د)	2	مزرد بن ضرار
90r	74	صحا القلب عن سلمى و مل العواذل		
145v	25	أحد القلب من سلمى احتساما	1	معاوية بن مالك
132r	50	عفا وخلا ممن عهدت به خم	1	معن بن أوس
25v	26	صرمتك جمرة واستبد مدارها	5	النمر بن تولب
26r	41	تأبد من أطلال جمرة مأسل		
27r	22	ألم بصحبتى و هم هجود . . . (ن)		
27v	18	شطت بجمرة دار بعد إلمام		
28r	24	سلا عن تذكره تكتما		



A LUTE PLAYER AT THE COURT OF SHĀH ṢAFĪ (1629–42)
By Riẓā 'Abbāsī (?)

(Reproduced by the courtesy of Messrs Bernard Quaritch, Ltd)

Was the Arabian and Persian Lute Fretted?

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

(PLATE I)

"The [Islamic] legacy to western Europe in musical instruments . . . was of the greatest importance. . . . There were many distinctly novel Arabian types introduced. . . . With these instruments came several material benefits. European minstrels, prior to the Arabian contact, only had the cithara and harp among stringed instruments, and they only had their ears to guide them when tuning. The Arabs brought to Europe their lutes, pandores, and guitars, with the places of the notes fixed on the finger-board by means of frets which were determined by measurement. This alone was a noteworthy advance."—H. G. Farmer in *The Legacy of Islām* (1931), pp. 373–4.

IT was in reference to this claim that I was once asked by the author of *Musik des Orients* (1929), Dr. Robert Lachmann, now the director of the Department of Extra European Music at the University of Jerusalem, whether I had actual evidence in regard to frets on the Arabian and Persian lute in the Middle Ages. He asked the question because a German writer, Karl Geiringer,[1] had searched Arabic and Persian manuscripts which gave delineations of the lute without finding a solitary example which revealed the presence of frets on the instrument.

In 1932, whilst I was at Cairo at the Congress of Arabian Music, the question arose officially. At the plenary session of the Commission of Musical Instruments the well-known Egyptian musicologist Aḥmad Amīn al-Dīk Efendī, the author of the *Qānūn aṭwāl al-awtār wa taṭbīqa 'alā al-'ūd* (Cairo, 1926) and other works, suggested that frets should be adopted on the modern Egyptian lute (*'ūd*) as in days of old. Dr. Curt Sachs, late Professor of Musikwissenschaft at the University of Berlin, and the author of the *Real-lexikon der Musikinstrumente* (Berlin, 1913), who was President of the

[1] Karl Geiringer, "Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der europ. Laute" in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, x (1927–8), p. 570.

Commission, replied that the Arabian lute in days of old *was not fretted.*

Several Egyptian savants and musicians questioned me privately at the time about Dr. Sachs's statement. I pointed out that Dr. Lachmann had made a similar statement to me, and I suggested that both of these musicographers were, apparently, rather unduly influenced by the opinions of Karl Geiringer.[1] I promised that I would deal with the question at length not only for its own sake, but in defence of my own thesis that Europe was influenced by the introduction of musical instruments with frets during the early Arabian culture contact.

§ 1

Frets on the neck or fingerboard of the Arabian and Persian lute, mandore, and pandore were known as *dasātīn* or *dastānāt* (sing *dastān*), a Persian word. In the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* of Muhammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khwārizmī (*fl.* 976–997) we are informed in the section on the lute (*'ūd*), that "*dasātīn* are the tied places (*ribāṭāt*) upon which the fingers are placed".[2] This definition is in itself quite sufficient to settle the question at issue. These "tied places" were made by means of gut or string tied around the neck of the instrument.

It is unfortunate, however, that the generality of Arabic lexicographers ignore the word, whilst Occidental lexicographers of Arabic are simply bewildering in their definitions. J. G. Hava, for instance, in his *Arabic-English Dictionary* (Beyrout, 1921), says that a *dastān* is a "key of a keyboard". Yet Golius, the Father of Occidental lexicographers of Arabic, had given the correct definition in 1653 as "ligatura in collo instrumenti musici". Steingass is no better in his *Persian Dictionary* (London, 1892), although Vullers, quoting the *Bahār-i 'ajam*, makes its meaning quite clear by citing from the *Durrat al-tāj* of Al-Shīrāzī (d. 1310).[3]

[1] Dr. Lachmann has since repudiated reliance on Geiringer's argument. See *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*, ii (1934), p. 60.

[2] *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, ed. G. Van Vloten, p. 238.

[3] *Lexicon Persico-Latinum* (Bonn, 1855–1864)

The reason why Arabic lexicographers generally have ignored the word *dastān* is due to the fact that it was an exotic word and that they already had its Arabic equivalent in *'ataba*. This belief, in spite of the authority of the lexicographers, is erroneous. The point is worth explicating before dealing with *dastān*.

The term *'ataba* is defined by a very important Arabic writer, Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama (d. *ca.* 903), in an interesting work entitled the *Kitāb al-'ūd wa'l-malāhī*, the solitary exemplar of which is preserved in the Tōp Qapū Serāi Library at Constantinople. The treatise is not mentioned by Dr. C. Brockelmann in his monumental *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (1898–1902), nor in the *Supplementband* (1936), although this manuscript is doubly interesting because it is in the handwriting of the celebrated caligraphist Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī (d. 1298). In this work Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama says that "those things which the Persians call *dasātīn* are called [in Arabic] *'atab*".[1] He also quotes a line from Al-A'shā Maimūn (d. *ca.* 629) as follows :—

"*And he placed the hand over the 'atab,*
To sound the note of the treble string."

This definition is confirmed by the lexicographer Al-Ṣaghānī (d. 1275), who states that the *'atab* or *dastānāt* are "what are tied upon the neck (*'umūd*) of the lute (*'ūd*)". These writers appear to be mistaken in this definition since the *'ataba* (plur. *'atab*)[2] was not a fret or *dastān* but rather what is known in English as the "nut" or what the Arabs more generally term the *anf* (nose),[3] a small piece of wood between the end of the neck and the pegbox, which is raised higher than the plane of the fingerboard and serves to cut off one end of the vibrating string, the other end being at the bridge-tailpiece (Arab. *musht*). It was given the name *'ataba* because it was the "threshold" of fingering the lute.

[1] Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama, ff. 31, 33.
[2] Strictly speaking a collective.
[3] *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, p. 239.

Strange to say there is a secondary definition of *'atab* by Al-Ṣaghānī, later supported by Al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 1414), which is nearer the truth. He tells us that the *'atab* are "transverse pieces of wood upon the face of the *'ūd* from which the strings are extended to the end of the *'ūd*". By the term "face" (*wajh*) he means the front of the lute, and by the term "end" (*ṭarf*) is meant the bridge-tailpiece.

Yet Muḥammad ibn Ziyād ibn al-'Arabī (d. 864), as quoted in the *Tāj al-'arūs*, seems to "hit the mark", as the Arabs say, in defining the *'atabat al-'ūd* as "that which is upon the extremities of the strings in the forepart [of the lute]". By the term "forepart" (*muqaddima*) is meant the extremity of the fingerboard, i.e the "nut".

The *'atab* and the *dasātīn* do not, strictly speaking, refer to the same thing, although probably at the time of Al-A'shā Maimūn the term *'ataba* was used indifferently for both "nut" and "fret".

§ 2

Frets (*dasātīn*) are frequently mentioned in the *Kitāb al-aghānī* of Al-Isfahānī (d. 967) and in an unmistakable way. For example, see the passage in which Ibn Jāmi' (d. *ca* 803) tells a lutanist to finger a certain *dastān*.[1] Again there is the account of the lute playing of Ishāq al-Mauṣilī (d. 850), where the "fingering" of the instrument, up and down the *dasātīn*, is clearly described.[2]

As for the Arabic theorists of music, their treatises prove conclusively that the lute (*'ūd*) as well as the pandore (*ṭunbūr*) had these frets or *dasātīn* tied around the neck of the instrument. Al-Kindī (d. *ca* 874) shows in speaking of the *dasātīn* that they must have been frets.[3] Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā (d. 912) explains "the place of every note (*naghma*) upon every fret (*dastān*)".[4] In describing the essentials of the

1 *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Bulak ed., v, 57–8.
2 Ibid., vi, 78–80.
3 British Museum MS., Or. 2361, fol. 165, v.
4 *Ibid.*, fol. 236, v.

lute (*'ūd*) Al-Fārābī (d. *ca.* 950) says that the *dasātīn* (frets) were tied (*shadda*) on the neck (*mutadaqq*) of the instrument, and that they were fixed parallel with the bridge-tailpiece.[1] Al-Mas'ūdī (d. *ca.* 957) directs that the *dastān* next to the nut (*anf*) was to be placed (*mauḍū'*) on the fingerboard at one-ninth of the vibrating string-length, and the *dastān* nearest the bridge-tailpiece (*musht*) was to be placed at one-fourth of the vibrating string-length.[2] The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (tenth century),[3] Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037),[4] Ibn Zaila (d. 1048),[5] Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294),[6] and others, all confirm the view that *dasātīn* were gut or string frets tied on the neck of the lute or pandore.

If further proof were necessary one might quote from the *Ḥawī al-funūn wa salwat al-maḥzūn* of Abū'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, better known as Ibn al-Ṭaḥān (fourteenth century ?), the only copy of which is in the Dār al-kutub at Cairo. Ibn al-Ṭahan, himself a musician, recommends the use of a pair of compasses when fixing the places of the *dasātīn* on the neck of the lute. He tells us, however, that *he* did not need *dasātīn* on his lute because he knew the place of every note on the fingerboard without *dasātīn*. He says, further, that four rolls of gut string were required to "fret" a lute, and he recommends that several thicknesses ought to be used.[7]

§ 3

Although it is quite clear from literary sources that the lute of the Arabs and Persians was fretted in the early Middle

[1] Leyden University MS., No. 1427, fol. 52, v. Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, pp. 77, 79. R. D'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, i, 166. Land, "Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe," in *Actes du Sixième congrès Inter. des Orientalistes*, . . . 1883, pt. i, pp. 100, 133.

[2] *Les prairies d'or*, viii, 99. The text has دستبان but دستان is intended.

[3] Bombay ed., 1887–8, i, 98.

[4] India Office MS., No. 1811, fol. 173. See *JRAS.*, 1937, pp. 251–5.

[5] British Museum MS., Or. 2361, fol. 235, v.

[6] British Museum MS., Or. 136, fol. 3, v.

[7] Cairo National Library MS., *funūn jamīla*, 539, fol. 89.

Ages, it has to be admitted that our iconographical sources do not support this, although frets may be seen on the pandore. How can this seemingly conflicting evidence be adjusted ?

Our iconographic sources must be divided into two periods : (*a*) the tenth–thirteenth century, and (*b*) the thirteenth–twentieth century.

That no example of a fretted lute is to be found in the first period is due, probably, to the fact that the iconographic sources of the period are confined entirely to industrial art, a medium which does not lend itself to the delineation of such relatively minute details as the frets on a musical instrument. Indeed, in some instances, even the strings are omitted.

That hundreds of pictures of the lute during the second period do not reveal the slightest trace of frets must be explained differently Our sources from this period are of painting or other design on paper or parchment, in which the artist had plenty of scope for registering such details as frets, although occasionally we find even strings omitted. The absence of frets from iconographic sources during this period can only be explained by recognizing that by the thirteenth century the use of frets on the lute had already started to fall into neglect, although the Persian writers, Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1310), Muḥammad al-Āmulī (fourteenth century), the author of the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (fourteenth century), and Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) all refer to *dasātīn* (frets). That they were sometimes used by the Arabs is definitely stated and explained by Ibn al-Ṭaḥan (fourteenth century ?), and that they were still favoured in Persia is evident from a painting (*ca.* 1630) in the possession of Messrs. Bernard Quaritch, in which there is a beautiful scene at the court of Shāh Ṣafī, where a musician playing a fretted lute is clearly delineated.[1]

[1] Part of this scene is reproduced here by the courtesy of Messrs. Bernard Quaritch The artist has delineated the frets on the instrument with such care that I have been prompted to take measurements of them. We may safely suppose that a string vibrating between the nut (*anf*) and the

Nowadays in Egypt, 'Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, neither the classical lute (*'ūd*) nor the smaller lute (*kuwītra, lauṭa*) has frets. At the same time nearly all the long-necked pandores (*ṭunbūr, ṭār, dūtār, sitār, chūgūr*) of the Near and Middle East are furnished with gut or string frets after the mediaeval fashion.

§ 4

Clearly, iconography is an uncertain guide. The facts of Karl Geiringer are legitimate enough, but his deductions, and those of Dr. Curt Sachs, are fallacious. We see another instance of the folly of placing too much reliance on iconography in the veteran Arabist Baron Carra de Vaux, who has argued that the lute of the time of Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294) had five *double* strings. His authority for this was the manuscript used by him in his masterly version of the *Risālat al-sharafiyya* of Ṣafī al-Dīn, in which the table dealing with the frets of the lute showed double lines for the strings.[1] Yet I feel sure that these double lines are merely a licence of the copyist so as to conform with the other double lines which he uses in the frame of his table. Indeed, every other manuscript of the *Risālat al-sharafiyya* and *Kitāb al-adwār* of Ṣafī al-Dīn which I have examined contains a single line for each string.[2]

In Baron Carra de Vaux's manuscript the lines representing the strings are parallel, as they are also delineated in other manuscripts, but we must not assume from this fact that they were strung parallel on the lute. On the contrary, as several

bridge-tailpiece (*musht*) measures 80 mm. The *khinsir* (4th finger fret) would therefore be at 20 mm. These measurements allow for seven frets from the *sabbāba* (1st finger fret) to the *khinṣir* (4th finger fret) inclusive. Thus, together with the five tuning pegs, shows that the system of Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294) was still in vogue.

[1] *Le traité de rapports musicaux . . . par Safi ed-Din 'Abd el-Mumin . . .* par M. le Baron Carra de Vaux, Paris, 1891, pp. 53–4.

[2] British Museum MSS., Or. 136, Or. 2361. Berlin MS., Landberg, 11, Paris Bibl. Nat., MS., Arabe 2865. Bodleian MSS., Marsh, 115, Marsh, 161, Marsh, 521.

manuscripts reveal,[1] the strings converged from the bridge-tailpiece (*musht*) to the nut (*anf*), as Al-Fārābī specifically points out.[2]

Even in treatises on music, where one naturally expects to find correct delineations and complete details, the most chimerical forms are introduced and the most essential factors are omitted. In some manuscripts of the Persian ***Kanz al-tuhaf*** (fourteenth century) almost every instrument is out of proportion whilst the strings are entirely omitted.[3] In the *Sharḥ Maulānā Mubarrak Shāh* the lute, which is delineated, has a fingerboard so wide that performance on it would be impossible.[4] In short, whilst iconography has an undoubted value in recording the existence of classes of musical instruments of which no literary evidence has come down to us, we must always be critical before accepting the forms and details of such instruments.

[1] British Museum MS, Or 136 Paris MS, Arabe, 2865.

[2] Leyden MS, No. 1427, fol 52, v. Kosegarten, *Lib Cant.*, p. 77. Land, op. cit., p. 100.

[3] Cambridge, King's College, No. 211. India Office MS, No. 2763.

[4] British Museum MS, Or 2361

Did Sulamī Plagiarize Sarrāj?

By A. J. ARBERRY

SULAMĪ'S tractate on the Malāmatīs (*Risālat al-Malāmatīya*), as preserved in the Berlin manuscript,[1] has been fully and scientifically analysed and described by Professor R. Hartmann in *Der Islam*, vol. viii, pp. 157–203.[2] There remains nothing to be added to the conclusions reached there. It is, however, to be remarked that Hartmann's article takes no account of the Cairo manuscript of the tract[3]: this, indeed, could hardly have been available at the time the article was written. The Cairo manuscript has been noted and utilized by Massignon[4]: a striking feature of this copy, however, which distinguishes it from that preserved at Berlin, appears to have escaped attention, and the purpose of the present note is to call attention to this peculiarity.

The title of Sulamī's treatise as given in the Cairo manuscript is: *Uṣūl al-Malāmatīya wa-ghalaṭāt al-Ṣūfīya.* Its text agrees perfectly with the Berlin copy, so far as the latter goes; but after the point at which the Berlin copy ends, a new section is added in the Cairo manuscript, with the heading *Faṣl fī ghalaṭāt al-Ṣūfīya.* The author then proceeds to enumerate the various errors into which certain "schools" of the Ṣūfīs had fallen. What a valuable new source on a highly interesting subject, says the expectant reader! But, alas, this is no new source at all, as the extracts published below will amply demonstrate. This section is, in fact, nothing more than a brief précis of *Kitāb al-Luma'* of al-Sarrāj, pp. 409–435 (Nicholson's edition). The précis is not even a particularly intelligent one: it is rather to be described as a wholesale

[1] Ahlwardt 3388.

[2] Brockelmann (*Erster Supplementband*, p. 362) is, of course, mistaken in describing this article as a *translation* of *Kitāb 'Uyūb al-nafs*, an entirely different work.

[3] Old catalogue, vii, p. 228.

[4] *Bibliographie Hallagienne* (suppl. to *Passion*), p. 12.

plagiarism of Sarrāj's text, committed without the slightest acknowledgment or excuse.

Plagiarism is, of course, a well-known vice of less reputable Arabic authors, and even to this day is freely enough indulged, as could be demonstrated by numerous examples.[1] Sulamī has, however, generally been conceded to be an honest and valuable authority, and if the present charge is really to be laid at his door his reputation must in consequence suffer. But is it he, in fact, who is guilty ? The Cairo manuscript is not very old, undated but probably of the eleventh–seventeenth century ; and as the Berlin copy lacks this concluding section it would be permissible to argue that it is an excrescence on Sulamī's text, added by a late and undiscriminating admirer. If this is the case, then the section naturally has no value whatsoever. If, however, Sulamī really is guilty, then the section is of the utmost importance : for it constitutes the earliest testimony now extant to the text of *Kitāb al-Luma'*. It shows us the text of Sarrāj differing little if at all from what we know it to be Sulamī died in 412/1021, Sarrāj in 378/988 · Sulamī is thus almost a contemporary witness to the text of Sarrāj.[2]

The selections from the " précis " given below, compared with the corresponding passages in *Kitāb al-Luma'*, amply prove the charge of plagiarism.

Sarrāj	Sulamī
قال الشيخ رحمه الله سمعت احمد بن على الكرخى يقول	قال المؤلف أبو عبد الرحمن السلمى رضى الله عنه الشطح

[1] See, for example, H. A. R. Gibb's remarks in *BSOS.*, vii, p. 11 (n. 3), . 20 (n 2).

[2] Qushairī in his *Risāla* (437/1045) is otherwise the earliest authority for the text, see Nicholson's edition of Sarrāj, introd., p. xl. The relevant section in *Kitāb al-Luma'* is based on a single MS., though the Bankipore copy, as Maulavi Abdul Hamid remarks, is the oldest known to exist (Bankipore 825) ; and this contains that section.

Sulamī

للخراسانيّين لأنهم يتكلّمون
عن أحوالهم وعن الحقائق
وأهل العراق يصفون أحوال
غيرهم وليس الواصف بشاطح
فالغلط الذى وقع للقوم وذلك
لبلوغهم الى محلّ من العلم والحال
ودرجة سقطوا عنها بالتفاته كما
قال أبو على الروذبارى رحمه
الله بلغنا فى هذا الأمر الى
مكان مثل حدّ السيف فإن قلنا
كذا ففى النار وذلك لدقّة المقام
ودقّة الحال وإنّما بنى هذا الأمر
وأسّس على ثلاثة أشياء أوّلها
اجتناب المحارم والثانى اداء
الفرائض والثالث ترك الدنيا
لأهلها

Sarrāj

سمعت ابا على الروذبارى رحمه
الله يقول قد بلغنا فى هذا الامر
الى مكان مثل حدّ السيف فان
قلنا كذى ففى النار وان قلنا
كذى ففى النار يعنى ان غلطنا
فيما نحن فيه بدقيقة فنصير من
اهل النار لأن الغلط فى كلّ
شئ أهون من الغلط فى التصوّف
وفى علمه لأنها مقامات واحوال
وإرادات ومراتب وإشارات...
ولم يحكم اساسه على ثلثة اشياء
... وهذه الثلثة اشياء اوّلها
اجتناب جميع المحارم كبيرها
وصغيرها والثانى اداء جميع
الفرايض عسيرها ويسيرها
والثالث ترك الدنيا على اهل
الدنيا قليلها وكثيرها...

Sarrāj	Sulamī
قال الشيخ رحمه الله ثم انّى	والغلط وقع فى ثلاثة أوجه
نظرت الى الفرق الذين غلطوا	طبقة غلطت فى الأصول لقلّة
فوجدتهم على ثلث طبقات	إحكامهم أصول الشرع وضعف
فطبقة منهم غلطوا فى الاصول	فهمهم وإخلاصهم كما قال الجنيد
من قلّة إحكامهم لأصول	رحمة الله عليه انما منعوا من
الشريعة وضعف دعائمهم فى	الوصول لتضييع الأصول وطبقة
الصدق والاخلاص وقلّة	غلطت فى الفروع من الآداب
معرفتهم بذلك كما قال بعض	والأخلاق والمقامات وذلك لقلّة
المشايخ حيث يقول انّما حرموا	معرفتهم بالأصول واتّباعهم
الوصول لتضييع الاصول وطبقة	حظوظ النفس والدنيا ولم
ثانية منهم غلطوا فى الفروع	يتأدّبوا بمن يروضهم ويجرعهم
وهى الآداب والاخلاق	المرارات ويدلّهم على المناهج
والمقامات والاحوال والافعال	ويعرّفهم النفس وعيوبها فتسقط
والاقوال فكان ذلك من قلّة	عنهم حظوظهم فمثل هولآء مثل
معرفتهم بالاصول ومتابعتهم	من يدخل بيتا مظلما بغير
لحظوظ النفوس ومزاج الطبع	سراج يريد أن يطلب فيه شيئا
لأنهم لم يدنوا ممّن يروضهم	فتى يجد ما يطلب ويفسد فى

Sarrāj	Sulamī
ويجرّعهم المرارات ويوقفهم على	تلك الظلمة أكثر ممّا يصلح
المنهج الذى يؤدّيهم الى مطلوبهم	وطبقة غلطهم زلّة او هفوة
فمثلهم فى ذلك كمثل من يدخل	فاذا تبيّن لهم ذلك عادوا الى
بيتا مظلما بلا سراج فالذى	سبيل الرشد ومكارم الأخلاق
يفسده اكثر ممّا يصلحه . . .	ومعالى الأحوال وقبلوا النصح
والطبقة الثالثة كان غلطهم فيما	وتركوا العناد وأذعنوا للحقّ
غلطوا فيه زلّة وهفوة لا علّة	فلا تنقص تلك الهفوة من
وجفوة فاذا تبيّن ذلك عادوا	مراتبهم شيئا الخ
الى مكارم الاخلاق ومعالى	
الامور فسدّوا الخلل ولمّوا	
الشعث وتركوا العناد وأذعنوا	
للحقّ وأقرّوا بالعجز فعادوا الى	
الاحوال الرضيّة والافعال	
السنيّة والدرجات الرفيعة فلم	
تنقص مراتبهم هفوتهم . . . الخ	
347.	

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

ANCIENT BEADS FROM THE JOHORE RIVER AS EVIDENCE OF AN EARLY LINK BY SEA BETWEEN MALAYA AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE

(PLATES II–IV)

In my excavations on the Johore River, in the many ancient sites there I collected, among other things, a number of old beads and gem stones. The somewhat rough gem stones, about 800 in all, appeared to be early, rather than late, Indian; of the 600 or so beads, about 20 per cent were classed as belonging to the Roman Empire, and typical examples are shown in the photographs. The term Roman is used in much the same sense as in Egypt, and may mean dating from any time in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era.

In addition to these, there were about eighty early Indian stone beads. Incidentally, there were one Hittite stone bead of 700 B.C. and one glass bead, similar to those made in Italy about 700 B.C., and two glass beads of Phœnician or early Cypriot type. The remainder were mostly of crude glass of no clearly assignable origin, either Arabic or later European, and most probably of local manufacture, apparently of an early date.

The question is, how and when did these Roman beads reach Malaya?

Did they come in Roman times? Were they brought by Arab traders? Were they brought in the time of the Chola kings? Or were they brought after A.D. 1500 by European traders? I think this last suggestion may be dismissed as unlikely. European traders could, and did, obtain European glass beads in such numbers and so cheaply that it is unlikely they would trouble about antiques, and there would probably be a number of European glass beads among those I found.

The same argument applies, to a certain extent, to the Arab traders; they made excellent glass, and still use glass beads of their own manufacture, and if they brought them it would be natural to find Arab beads among them. But we find Indian stone beads and gem stones instead. Were they brought in the time of the Chola kings? They were a strong sea-power; about A.D. 1026 they conquered the Nicobar and Andaman Islands, and probably Kĕdah. In a Chinese work, the *Sung shih*, are mentioned the names of two Chola kings who sent embassies to China with tribute, which was a way of trading, viz., in 1033 Shih-li-lo-ch'a-yin-to-lo, i.e. Śrī Rājendra Chola, and in 1077 Ti-wa-ka-lo, i.e. Kulottunga (*circa* 1077–1118).

The Malay annals and folk-tales are full of the wars and disputes between the Malays and these Indian kings, Rajah Kling and Rajah Chulan. Kĕling is the Malay name for all South Indians, and means the people of Kalinga, the coast of Orissa, while Raja Chulan was, according to Winstedt, Raja Chola, i.e. the Chola king. The Malay annals tell us that Raja Chulan had a city, Kota Batu Itam, on the upper waters of the Johore River. In 1928 a man was alive who had seen it and offered to take people there, but this offer was not accepted, and in 1932 he was dead. It is quite possible that the Chola people brought these beads. In the light of our present knowledge I am inclined to dismiss this indication; but if anyone will explore the upper waters of the Johore River, and find Kota Batu Itam or the Hindu Temple, Chandi Bombom, said by Malays to be there, the missing evidence may be found.

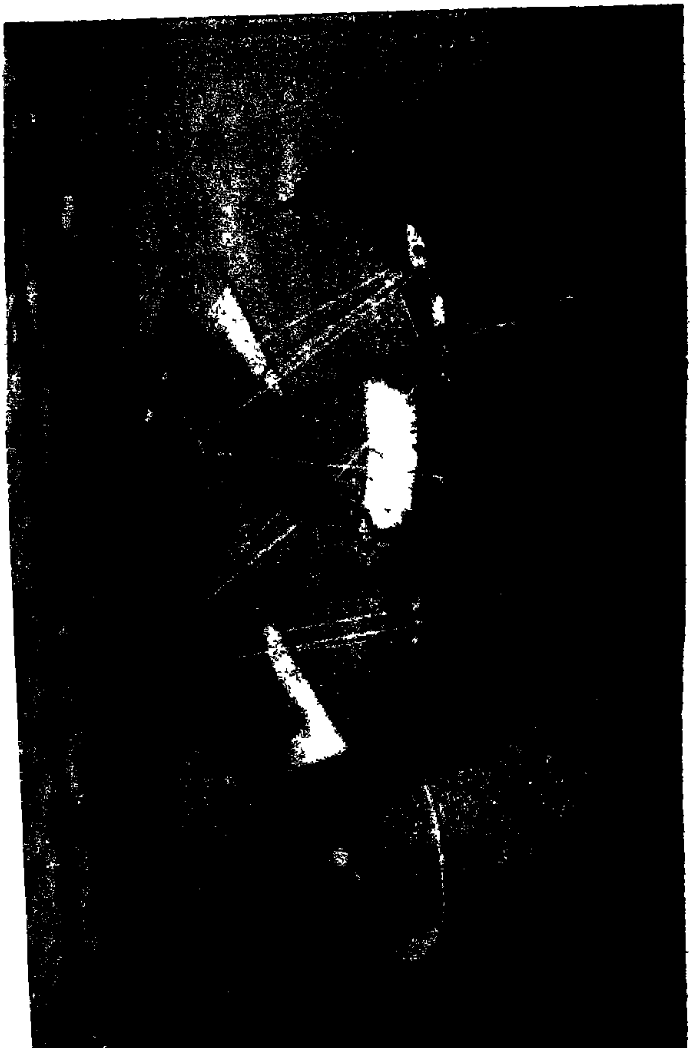
Goods are usually traded in the period of their manufacture, and there is a mass of evidence bearing on Roman trade with India and the East, which it is needless to repeat here. It is, however, worthy of especial note that traders from the Roman Empire took glass, among other things, into India, and the *Periplus* mentions the import of crude glass into Malabar and the export of tortoiseshell obtained both from the Isle of Chryse and from the islands along the coast of Damirica



INDIAN BEADS.



ROMAN BEADS FROM THE JOHORE RIVER. No. 1 is Hittite, No. 2 are Phœnician or Cypriot.



EARLY TYPE OF SHIP THAT TRADED BETWEEN INDIA AND JAVA. MODEL MADE BY THE AUTHOR FOR SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

(the Tamil country).[1] The *Periplus* also refers to the native vessels sailing to and from Damirica which put in at Camara, Poduca, and Sopatma, " and other very large vessels made of single logs bound together, called *sangara*; but those which make the voyage to Chryse and to the Ganges are called *colandia*, and are very large." [2] The same traveller writes: " Sailing with the ocean to the right and the shore remaining beyond to the left, Ganges comes into view, and near it the very last land towards the east, Chryse. . . . And just opposite this river (Ganges) there is an island in the ocean, the last part of the inhabited world toward the east, under the rising sun itself; it is called Chryse." [3] If a mariner should follow these directions he would find Chryse in Johore, the Malay name for which is *Hujong Tanah*, " The End of Land."

That there was intercourse between South India and the Malay Archipelago by sea in early days is also certain from other sources. Javanese historians tell of the various settlements of South Indians in Java from A.D. 70 onwards, and these settlers are always said to have come by sea. The bas-reliefs at Barabuḍur in Java show a type[4] of vessel that may have made the voyage—possibly the kind of ship referred to in the *Periplus*.

The Malay States have always been famous for their gums, incense, and spices, and the Roman demand would encourage this trade, presumably through Indian middlemen, who would have gems, stones, and Roman products, including beads among other things, to send in return. Thus the Roman beads found by me on the Johore river, in conjunction with ancient gem stones or stone beads, were probably part of this early overseas traffic between Malaya and India, and thence to the Roman Empire. Whether the single Hittite bead or the early Italian eye-bead are traces of an earlier connection is a question for which we have at present no evidence.

[1] See *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, translated by W. H. Schoff, p. 45.

[2] Ibid., p. 46. [3] Ibid., p. 47 f.

[4] See Plate III. This model reproduces the type in question.

I may conclude by saying that my excavations were preliminary and exploratory only, and that many extensive and untouched sites in Johore, including Kota Batu Itam, while associated in legend with the Chola kings, may well prove to have been founded at a much earlier date. All these ancient sites would repay proper excavation, and might throw an entirely new light on the ancient history of these regions.

338 G. B. GARDNER.

TEMPLE RECORDS FROM UMMA

The six tablets here published were purchased by me from a dealer in Beyrouth in April, 1936. They all belong to the time of the Ur dynasty, and have been arranged according to their dates in chronological order. I am indebted to Professor Langdon for help in the interpretation.

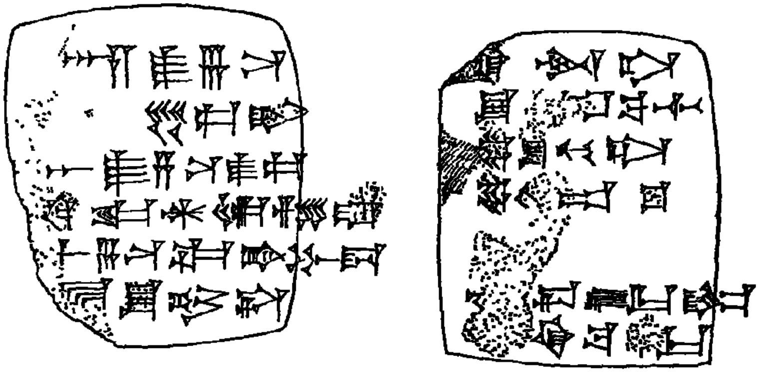
1. Barley and spelt (emmer) from the granary (*é šu-íb*) received from Arad by Šu-.. Cf. Contenau, *Umma sous la Dynastie d'Ur*, No. 14. Of lines 4–5, to which I know no parallel, the following interpretation is suggested: *ki (?)-enim-^dŠul-gi-ra [. . 1]0 + 6 KA sag-bi gíd-da*, "on behalf of Enim-Šulgi, [x + ?] 16 ḲA, its capital, has been subtracted," this capital being the original seed-corn which Arad borrowed from Enim-Šulgi and of which he has now reaped the harvest. However, a harvest between the months *šu-numun* and *mìn-èš*, which were at Umma the sixth and seventh months of a year beginning with Adar,[1] is at least unexpected. Year: Šulgi 47.
2. Three men for twelve days, stationed at the *a-da*, at the *guruma* Foreman, Lugal-mumag; commissioner,[2] Ir-dingir From month 2 to month 6 (an unusual method of dating · cf de Genouillac, *Textes Économiques*, pl. x). Year: Bur-Sin 1.

[1] See Deimel, *Šum Lex*, p 98; Langdon, *Menologies*, p. 97, n 1, and p 119, n 3

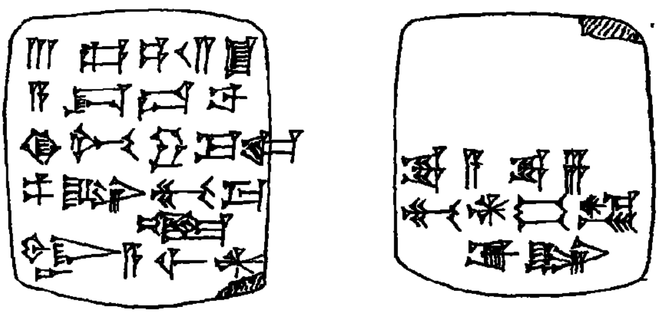
[2] See Deimel, *Reallex d Ass*, i, 18b, and *Šum Lex*, No. 208 (8).

3. Spelt (for) Ur-^{giš}gigir, son of Ḫabalul, the chief of the *ú-bil* men. Month Adar, year Gimil-Sin 1. Seal of Lú-^{d}Ḫani, the scribe, son of Ur-dul (?)-du[-e].
4. Ur-lamušša, the " lord of the seal of the house ", has taken

Obv. 1 *Rev.*



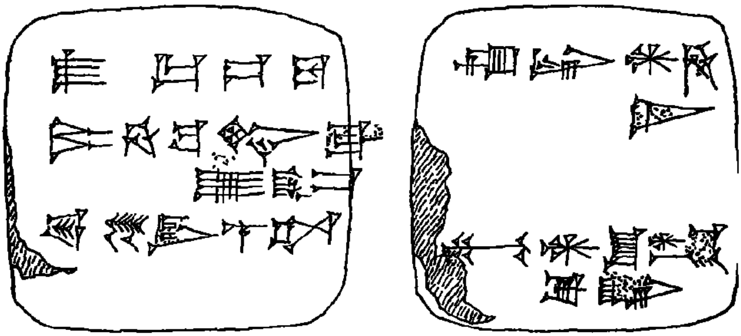
Obv. 2 *Rev.*



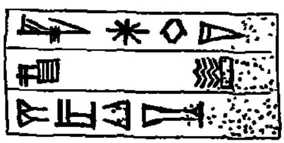
charge of forty-six bundles of reeds. Month *šu-numun*, year not stated. Cf. Contenau, op. cit., No. 75.
5. Allowance of barley for Duggi and others, at the granary of A-KA-ḲA, issued by Gududu. Month *šu-numun*, year Gimil-Sin 3. Seal of ^{d}*Šara-ereš*, scribe.

6. Allowance of barley for the ox-herds (*šà-gud* = *kullizu*, cf. Kraus, *Briefe*, ii, p. 217), to the total of 2 *gur* (for *gur-lugal*? $10 \times 60 = 600$ ḲA), issued by Gududu. Month of ^{d}*Ne-gún* (the ninth month: Langdon,

Obv. 3 *Rev.*



IMPRESSION OF SEAL



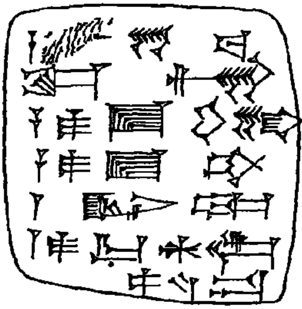
Obv. 4 *Rev.*



Seal impression only, identical with that shown in Contenau, *Umma sous la dynastie d'Ur*, p. 54, fig. 12.

Menologies, p. 115, n. 5), year Gimil-Sin 3. Seal of Enim-[d]Šara.

Obv. 5 *Rev.*

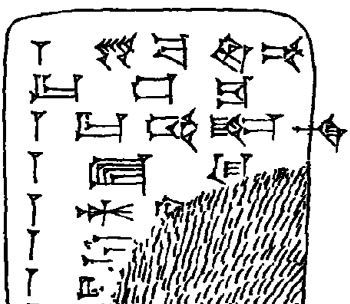


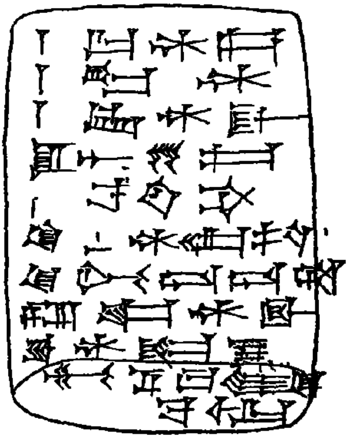


SEAL



Obv 6 *Rev.*





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OXFORD.

July, 1937.

THE SOURCE OF A STORY IN THE MAT̲H̲NAWĪ, AND A PERSIAN PARALLEL TO *GRIMM'S FAIRY TALES*

I

In the preface to *Tales of Mystic Meaning*, selected from the Mat̲h̲nawī, Professor Nicholson briefly refers to the sources of the stories told in that poem, and enumerates a number of Arabic and Persian works to which certain tales can be traced. The whole subject, he adds, is still open to investigation; and it is thought that the following contribution may be of interest:—

The story entitled "The Man who flew to Hindustān" (Book i, v. 956 ff., of the Persian text) relates how a man threatened by Azrael the Angel of Death implored Solomon to order the wind to transport him to India, in the hope of thus escaping death; Solomon complied with the request.

"On the morrow, when the king in audience sate,
He said to Azrael, 'wherefore didst thou look
Upon that Musulmān so wrathfully,
His home knew him no more?' 'Nay, not in wrath,'
Replied the Angel, 'did I look on him;
But seeing him pass by, I stared in wonder,
For God had bidden me take his soul that day
In Hindustān. I stood there marvelling.
Methought, even if he had a hundred wings,
'Twas far for him to fly to Hindustān.'"

The ultimate source of the story here related is an Agada told in the Palestinian Talmūd in the following form—I quote from the extract given in J. T. Marshall's *Manual of the Aramaic Language*, pp. 60 and 145; the reference is to Kilaim, ix, 4, 32 (*c*): "Eliḥoreph and Ahijah were two secretaries of Solomon. He saw the angel of Death looking at them and gnashing with his teeth. Solomon spake the word and placed them in a cavern. The angel went and took them from there. He then came and stood opposite the king, laughing. Solomon said: 'A little while ago thou wast gnashing with thy teeth and now thou art laughing at them.' He replied: 'The Merciful One bade me remove Eliḥoreph and Aḥijah from the

cavern; I said: "Who will put these men in the place whence I am sent to take them?" He put it into thy heart to do so, in order that I might accomplish my errand.' He went and joined himself to them from there." Maulānā Rūmī, in his usual manner adds an allegorical interpretation. It is not to be assumed, of course, that he derived the tale directly from the Talmūd, and it would be of some interest to trace the channels through which it reached him.

II

In a volume of short stories descriptive of modern Persian life by a contemporary author (*Sih Qaṭrahi Khūn* by Ṣādiq Hidāyat, Teheran, 1311) there is contained a story entitled *Changāl*, which deals with the unhappy life and tragic death of two young people, brother and sister, who are ill-treated by an unkind stepmother and a worthless father. The girl is represented as singing the following song: "one of the songs they used to sing together in the old days":—

"منم، منم، بلبل سر گشته
از کوه وکر بر گشته
مادر نابکار، مرا کشته
پدر نامرد، مرا خورده
خواهر دلسوز: —
استخوانهای مرا با هفتا گلاب شسته
زیر درخت گل چال کرده،
منم شدم یه بلبل
—— ——
پر پر"

"I am, I am a *bulbul* that's got lost;
From the hills and rocks I've come back.
My wicked mother killed me,
My inhuman father ate me;
My heartbroken sister
Washed my bones seven times with rose water,
She buried me under a rose tree,
I became a *bulbul* . . .
Fly away, fly away."

The connection of the song with the wicked stepmother motif is obvious, and there is little doubt that it belongs to a Persian folk-story, of which the Brothers Grimm have a Low-German version under the title Van den Machandelboom. A boy is killed by a wicked stepmother, who serves him up to his father to eat. His sister collects the bones in a silk kerchief and places them under a juniper tree. The boy is turned into a bird, in which shape he sings the following song:—

"Mein Mutter der (*sic*) mich schlacht,
mein Vater der mich ass,
mein Schwester der (*sic*) Marlenichen
sucht alle meine Beinichen,
bindt sie in ein seiden Tuch,
legts unter den Machandelbaum.
Kywitt, kywitt, wat vor'n schön Vagel bün ik!"[1]

The bird duly punishes the stepmother, and rewards the sister and the innocent father; and in the end he is turned into a boy again.

Versions of the tale are found in most European languages; and the learned authors of the *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (J. Bolte and G. Polivka, Leipzig, 1913) also refer to the occurrence of the motif in Egypt and amongst the Kurds.

P.S.—After going to press I came across the "Persian Tales" translated by D. L. R. and E. O. Lorimer (London,

[1] A somewhat different version of the song is found in the Prison Scene at the end of the first part of Goethe's *Faust*.

1919), which contain our story under the title "The story of the boy who became a Bulbul". It gives the song in a somewhat fuller version.

343. S. HILLELSON.

THE ZAMZAMAH: AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GUN

In the opening chapter of *Kim*, Kipling says: "Who hold Zamzamah, that fire-breathing dragon, hold the Punjab, for the great green-bronze piece is always first of the conqueror's loot."

It would be interesting to follow the history of this remarkable gun, which is to be seen at the Central Museum, Lahore, facing the Sadr Bazaar, in which position it was placed on the occasion of the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Lahore in 1870. But when, where, by whom, and for whom was this great gun cast?

In the old Armenian cemetery at Agra, opened in A.D. 1611, there is the grave of an Armenian, who, according to the inscription in Armenian and Persian on his tombstone, was an expert in the art of casting cannons, and it was that Armenian expert who, in 1761, cast the famous gun, called Zamzamah,[1] for Ahmad Shah Durrani, the Afghan invader of the Punjab, after Nadir Shah, in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The Armenian inscription on the slab which covers the mortal remains of the Armenian Krüpp in India is as follows:—

ԱՅՍ Է ՏԱՊԱՆ ԳԱՅՐԳՈՐԻԱՆՑԻ ԱԼԱՅՎԷՐԴԻԷ
ՈՐԴԻ ՎԱՐԴԵՍ ԹՕՓՃՈՂԻ ՈՒՍՏԱՅ ՃԱՀԱՆԱՉԱՐ
ԽԱՆԻՆ ՈՐ ԽԱՐԻ ՄԻԱՁՈՒԱՄԻ ՓՈԽԵՑԱՒ ԱՌ
ՏԷՐ ԹՒԿ.ՆԻՆ 1784 ԱՊՐԻԼԻ 25

[1] Zamzamah means humming or thundering. It also means a lion's roar.

It can be translated thus: "This is the tomb of Ostad [master] Shah Nazar Khan, the son of Allaverdy of Qaiquli, who was an expert in the casting of cannons. He departed to the Lord with a good death on the 25th April in the year 1784."

And on a perpendicular white marble slab, fixed at the head of the grave, there is an inscription in beautiful Persian verse, of which the following is a copy :—

شاه نظر خان آنکه نامش شهرهٔ آفاق بود
صنعتش در توپ ریزی عزت لقمان فزود
چونکه اورا با مسیحا بود حسن اعتقاد
رفته در بهر سجودش جانب چرخ کبود
هاتف غیب از سر حسرت پی تاریخ او
گفت پابوسی جناب حضرت عیسا نمود

It can be rendered into English thus: "Shah Nazar Khan, he whose name was world-famed and in the craft of casting cannons, he even added to the excellence of Loqman.[1] Since he was a believer in the Messiah, he went for obeisance to the blue sky [heaven]. A voice from the unknown mournfully said the following, giving the date of his death: 'He has kissed the feet of Jesus.'"

According to the *abjad* system of reckoning, the date of the death of Shah Nazar Khan is to be found in the words "pā bosī-i-janāb Hazrat 'Īsā namūd", which when calculated gives the year A.D. 1784, corresponding to the year given in the Armenian inscription.

There is an inscription round the muzzle of the gun as under :—

بامر دُر دوران شه ولی خان وزیر
ساخت توپ زمزمه نام قلعه گیر
عمل شاه نظر خان

[1] According to the Persians, Loqman is supposed to be the inventor of cannons.

It can be translated thus: "By order of the Emperor, Durr-a-Durran, Shah Wali Khan, the Vazir, made this gun, named Zamzamah, the capturer of strongholds. The work of Shah Nazar Khan."

For a fuller account of the gun and the long Persian inscription engraved upon it, see Syed Muhammad Latif's *History of Lahore*, 1892.

And about the same time that Shah Nazar Khan was casting terrible guns for his master, Ahmad Shah Durrani, his equally famous countryman, Gorgin Khan, the Armenian Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nawab Mir Qasim of Bengal (1760–3), was casting equally formidable guns for his master at Monghyr, the then capital of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, which clearly shows that the Armenians, apart from being eminent merchants in India, have in the past achieved success in the art of war and in the manufacture of large and unique pieces of ordnance, like the "Zamzamah". This shows that the martial spirit of the race was still alive in them, despite the terrible persecutions which they had suffered in the land of their ancestors (Armenia) at the hands of the bloodthirsty Tartars, Saracens, Arabs, Persians, and Turks since the fall of their political independence in A.D. 1375.

Of the many big guns cast at Lahore and Agra by Shah Nazar Khan, the "Master Workman", as he is called, the only one in existence at the present day is the "Zamzamah", which, according to the long and interesting Persian inscription on the back of the gun, was "terrible as a dragon", "huge as a mountain", "a fire-raining dragon", and "a destroyer even of the strongholds of heaven". Kipling seems to have been quite impressed with that eighteenth-century gun, for he has used an illustration of it as a frontispiece to his *Kim*.

CALCUTTA.
9th April, 1937.

319. MESROVB J. SETH.

A CORRECTION TO "MIRABILIA DESCRIPTA" (THE WONDERS OF THE EAST). By FRIAR JORDANUS, *circa* 1330 [1]

In speaking of Armenia, Friar Jordanus says: "In this same Armenia the Greater a certain glorious Virgin suffered martyrdom. The daughter of a King and Scala by name." (p. 5.)

Colonel Sir Henry Yule in his notes in this book wrote: "The Virgin must be Rhipsime . . . etc." (p. 5.)

Sir Henry Yule was mistaken in his identification of the "Glorious Virgin Scala by name" mentioned by Friar Jordanus as having suffered martyrdom, for she was not Virgin Rhipsime, but a Virgin named Santukht, the daughter of the Armenian King Sanadrug. She was converted to Christianity by Judas-Thaddeus the Apostle, who, after the death of Christ, was sent to preach Christianity to the Armenians.

The Martyrdom of Santukht, as well as the historical reality of the Armenian King Sanadrug, is enveloped in so much darkness and the narrations about them are so old that they have almost become legendary. Although Sanadrug has no place in *de facto* Armenian History, nevertheless he has quite an important place in the history of the Christian Religion in Armenia. Incidentally, Santukht was not only the first female martyr in Armenia, but the first in the whole of Christendom, being killed by the order of her father Sanadrug, the King of Armenia, about the middle of the first century.

The Virgin Rhipsime, or, as the Armenians spell it, Hrripsime, mentioned by Sir Henry Yule, was not the daughter of a king, as Friar Jordanus tells us the Glorious Virgin Scala's father was. Hrripsime was martyred in Armenia in the third century.

The name of the martyred Virgin is given by Friar Jordanus as Scala, which in Latin as well as Italian means *scale,* and for which Webster's *Unabridged Dictionary* gives *scale* (scala) "A ladder; series of steps". In Armenian, scale is translated *santukh* (a ladder), which makes it seem that

[1] Printed by Hakluyt Society, Old or First Series, No. 31, 1863.

whoever told Friar Jordanus the story of this Armenian Virgin's martyrdom also gave the name *Santukht*, but to make it more easily remembered by Friar Jordanus, he tried to translate the name and called it scala (= scale = *santukh* = ladder), the original Santukht being a personal name, much used among Armenians to this day, and the second a word, *santukh*, which in Latin is *scala* and in English *scale*, a ladder.

The fact that these two words are so nearly alike, makes it easy for a person unfamiliar with the Armenian language to get them confused, even though they have no connection.

351. H. KURDIAN.

AN UNKNOWN WORK ON ZOOLOGY

Lieut.-Col. J. Stephenson, in the introduction of his very useful edition of the zoological section of Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī's *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*,[1] states that "Arabic works on natural history were few, and Persian works non-existent, before the time of Mustaufī. There appears to be no systematic zoological treatise before the *Nuzhat* except the *Kitābu-l-Ḥayawān* of Jāḥiẓ (d. A.H. 255, A.D. 869) which, however (like that of ad-Damīrī later), is for the most part of philological and literary interest ".[2] This statement is supported by the words of Dr. Max Meyerhof, " The only important Muslim work on *Zoology* is the *Life of Animals* by Muḥammad ad-Damīrī." [3] In view of these judgments, it is of interest to record that there exists in the India Office Library [4] a large fragment of what is evidently a scientific treatise on zoology written, most probably in Persia by a Persian, in the first half of the sixth

[1] Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, vol. xxx.

[2] pp. x–xi.

[3] *Legacy of Islam*, p. 341. Cf. A. S. G. Jayakar's remarks in his translation of *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (Bombay, 1906), vol. i, p. xiv.

[4] Delhi Arabic, 1949. Foll. 217; 31 × 18 cm. (script 22 × 13 cm.); ll. 12. Seals on the first and last folios attest that its present state of imperfection dates back at least two or three centuries.

century A.H.[1] This manuscript, though defective at both beginning and end, and therefore lacking all information as to authorship and correct title, has fortunately escaped the more serious depredations of ants, worms, and rodents which have worked havoc with so many valuable manuscripts housed at one time in Indian palaces.

As it is the intention of the present writer subsequently to make a more detailed study of the work, it will be sufficient here to state its general contents, which are given in the hope that some other scholar, seeing them, may be able to throw light on the important question of authorship. The book is divided into two main parts called *maqālāt*, so far at least as is preserved in this copy. The first *maqāla* treats of man, the human races, and the character and characteristics of man: in enumerating the various nations the author treats of the Persians first, and the Arabs last but two (he reserves the Abyssinians for the last place). The second *maqāla* deals with the animals, of which the first to be described, curiously enough, is the elephant.[2] The author's interest in animals is not philological, as is the case with Jāḥiẓ, and to some extent with Damīrī, but scientific. In some passages he records his own observations. Many names of animals occur which I have not seen in any other Islamic authority.

The copy itself is very old, probably of the twelfth century, possibly an autograph. The scribe has given diacritical points and some vocalizations for about the first third of the whole, but thereafter generally omits both points and vowels,

[1] A note in a late hand on the wrapper attributes the work (which it calls *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*) to Sharaf al-Zamān (sc. al-Dīn) Muḥammad al-Īlāqī, the well-known pupil of Avicenna. This ascription is, of course, incorrect. On fol. 210*b* the author relates an event of his own lifetime which he dates 514 A.H.

[2] It may be noted that in the zoological section of 'Awfī's *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt* the first animal to be described is also the elephant. This raises the possibility, though difficult to reconcile with certain historical data, that the present work is to be identified with the lost *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawānāt* of Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marwazī See M. Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, *Introduction to the Jawámi'u' l-Ḥikáyát*, pp. 88 f.

except that he invariably writes the names of animals carefully. The author's general outlook on life is illustrated by a remark on fol. 9*b*: "Among the characteristics of the (human) soul are generosity and miserliness. As for generosity, this is in our day like the '*anqā* of the west . . . one hears say of it, but no sign of it is ever seen; while as for miserliness, this is the common characteristic of all the people of this age, and more especially women."

A. J. Arberry.

335.

THE YEZIDI VILLAGES IN NORTHERN 'IRÂQ

Up till now we did not know the names of all the villages of Northern 'Irâq inhabited by the Yezīdis or the so-called, although quite wrongly, Devil-worshippers. This gap in our knowledge about the sect has been filled up now by the Mesopotamian scholar 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī, who, in his valuable book published recently in Bagdād about the history, customs, manners and doctrines of the sect,[1] gives us a nearly complete list of the Yezidi villages in Ğebel Singăr and in the surroundings of Mossul. Most of the names of those villages belong to the Kurdish language and only few of them are Arabic. As the text of al-'Azzāwī is not vocalized, it is not easy to determine in every case the right pronunciation of the Kurdish names. I therefore asked al-'Azzāwī to be so kind as to send me a vocalized list of the names of the villages published in his book. He very promptly acceded to my request, and was so kind as to send me immediately the vocalized names I had asked him for. It is a pleasure for me to be able to tender to him my hearty thanks for his kindness.

[1] The Arabic title runs as follows: *Ta'rīḫ al-Yazīdiyyah wa. aṣl 'aqīdatihim.* The year of its publication is 1354 of the Hiğrah and 1935 of the Christian era. The book has also a French title: *Histoire des Yezidis. Leur doctrine, leurs pays, leurs chefs d'après des documents inédits*, Baghdad, 1935. I have written on this book in "Nuovi documenti suì Yezidi", *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, xii (1936), 150–165.

There are some slight discrepancies between the list published in his book, to which I refer as A, and the vocalized one sent to me, B. Some differences may be due to misprint and some to scribal error.

The sources of the list of al-'Azzāwī are written or oral.

Only a few of the villages quoted in the list were known till now, to scholars who have written about the Yezidis. It is therefore worth while to publish a transliteration of the list and an English translation of the notes appended by the author to some of the names.

YEZIDI VILLAGES IN THE REGION OF SINĞĀR[1]

1. Bāğass-sī or Bāğass. There are some of the Mandakān[2] Yezidis and with them dwell some Muhammadans.
2. Bārah. Inhabited by the tribe of the Samūqah or Samūgah.[3] This village lies on the summit of the mountain and in its neighbourhood lies the village of al-Ḫātūniyyah which now belongs to the French. There are no Yezidis in it. In it are only Arabs who are called al-Ḫawātinah.
3. Bāšūk. Inhabited by Mandakān and some Muhammadans.
4. Bardahlī. On the slope of the mountain towards the north, in the direction of Niṣībīn and Mārdīn.
5. Bakrān[4] The majority of its inhabitants are Yezidis and few of them are Muslims. On the slope of the mountain as the preceding.
6. Bahbul or Gahbul (B). Also a village of which the inhabitants are Yezidis.
7. Tappah or Tabbah (B). An important village. Its inhabitants are mostly Yezidis, few are Muslims.
8. Tall Qaṣab. Its inhabitants are Mandakān, and among them there are Yezidis and Muslims.

[1] al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., p. ٩٦–١٠٥.
[2] On the villages of this Kurdish tribe see al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ٩٧.
[3] al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit, ٩٦.
[4] al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ٩٨.

9. Ǧaddālah. They say that this village belongs to a Muslim and that Ḥamū Šarū moved from it.[1]
10. Ǧafriyyah.[2] Lies on the slope of the mountain towards the north, in the direction of Niṣībīn and Mārdīn. Its inhabitants are Yezidis with a few Muslims.
11. Čal'ān. Also called Kūrkūrgah, but known by the name of Čal'ān.
12. Ḥānamiyyah or Ḥātamiyyah (B). Its inhabitants are Mandakān, and there are also Muslims and Yezidis.
13. Ḥallīqiyyah.[3] Another of the villages on the northern slope of the mountain, facing the direction of Niṣībīn and Mārdīn.
14. al-Ḫān or Ḫān (B). The inhabitants are Mandakān and there are also Yezidis and Muslims in it.
15. Dīlūḫān. In it there are Mandakān and among them there are Muslims and Yezidis. In this village there is the family of the 'Izzah with the Mandakān and the Šahwān[4]: so Šeyḫ Ilyās ibn Šeyḫ Ḫiḍr[5] has told me.
16. Rambūsiyyah. A village in the west of Balad Sinǧār; its inhabitants are Yezidis.
17. Zīrwān. On the slope of the mountain. Inhabitants are mostly Yezidis with a few Muslims. It lies towards the north.
18. Sakīnī or Sakīniyyah.[6] One of the villages on the south of Balad Sinǧār, inhabited by the *'ašīrah* of the Qīrān.[7]

[1] On Ḥamū Šarū or Ḥamū Šīrū see the passages of al-'Azzāwī quoted on p. ٢١٨, and Ismā'īl Beg Chol, *The Yazīdīs Past and present*, Beirut, 1934, p. ١٢٣: On the table facing p. ٥٤ is to be seen a picture of Ḥamū Šarū, "chief of the Yezidis in Ǧebel Sinǧār."

[2] On this tribe see al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ١٨.

[3] al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ١٨.

[4] According to al-'Azzāwī, loc cit., ١٦, this tribe is of Arabic origin.

[5] This *šeyḫ* is the chief of the *'ašīrah* Hakkāriyyah and has furnished to our author much information about the Yezidis. The tribe is Kurdish, but the *šeyḫ* speaks also Arabic, al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ١٧.

[6] al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ١٦.

[7] al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ١٦.

19. Sanūnī or Sanūn. One of the villages on the northern slope of the mountain. The majority of its inhabitants are Yezidis and few of them are Muslims.
20. Šikuftah or Iškuftah. One of the southern villages. Inhabitants are Yezidis and only a few are Muslims.
21. Ṭaraf. On the northern slope of the mountain. Inhabitants are Yezidis and few of them are Muslims.
22. 'Āl Dīnah or Dīnā (B) or 'Alī Dīnah or 'Aldīnah. The same.
23. 'Ayn Fatḥī. One of the southern villages. Inhabitants are Mandakān with a few Muslims and Yezidis.
24. Qartāġ 'Ulyā.
25. Qartāġ Suflà. Both these villages are to the south. The inhabitants are Mandakān but among them there are Muslims and Yezidis.
26. Qizil Kand. On the west of Sinǧār City.
27. Qasīrkī. The same.
28. Quwaysī or Quways. On the northern slope of the mountain facing Mārdīn and Niṣībīn.
29. Kursī. The seat of the Amīr.[1] On the slope of the mountain. In it dwells the *mudīr* of the *nāhyah*.
30. Kūlgān (B), Kūlkān (A). On the slope north of the town of Mossul.
31. Garay (B), Karay (A) 'Arbah. Towards the north. Inhabitants are Yezidis : few of them are Muslims.
32. Gandah (B), Kandah (A) Gīlī. In the northern direction. Inhabitants are Yezidis : few of them are Muslims.
33. Maǧnūniyyah. Here dwells the chief of the followers, *awlād*, of the Šeyḫ 'Abd al-Qādir.[2] The village lies on the west of Balad Sinǧār. It was formerly called Ḥiyāl, but nowadays it is called by the name Maǧnūniyyah or Maǧnūnah, and its inhabitants know it by either name.

[1] That is to say, of the Yezidi Amīr of Ǧebel Sinǧār. There is also a Yezidi Amīr of Šeyḫān.

[2] Šeyḫ 'Abd al-Qādir was one of the brothers of Šeyh 'Adī, Furlani, *Testi religiosi dei Yezidi*, Bologna, 1930, 17 and 38.

34. Maharkān.[1] One of the villages south of Balad Sinğār. Inhabitants are Yezidis: few of them are Muslims. This village lies on the side of the mountain Ġalī Bīrīn.
35. Nugrī. Its inhabitants are Yezidis and few of them are Muslims. On the slope of the mountain in the northern district.
36. Nārangūk. Here dwell the tribes Danādiyyah[2] and Ṣū'ān.[3] It is one of the northern villages.
37. Yūsifān. In it dwell the tribes Danādiyyah and Ṣū'ān. It is one of the northern villages.
38. Yūsifkah or Tall Yūsifkā. One of the villages to the north. All are Yezidis and the Muslims among them are few.
39. Kānī Sārik.
40. Ačmā.
41. Rambūsī or Rambūsiyyah. A village on the west of Balad Sinğār. Its inhabitants are Yezidis.
42. Gābārah (B), Kābārah (A).
43. Wardiyyah.
44. Māmīs.
45. Malag.
46. Adīkā.
47. Paštgīr (B), Paštkīr (A).
48. Barānā.
49. 'Ayn Ġazāl.
50. Šārūk.
51. Šag'ū.
52. Šihābiyyah.
53. Namīl.
54. Hamdān.

al-'Azzāwī first gives a list of those of the above quoted villages which lie on the western side of Ğebel Sinğār, on p. ١٠٣, then another, of the villages lying on the northern

[1] al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ١٥.
[2] al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ١٤.
[3] al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ١٦.

slope, on pp. ١٠٣–١٠٤, and finally a list of the villages lying on the northern side from the west to the east. After a few remarks about the Muslims living on Ğebel Sinğār, he gives us the second of his lists of Yezidi villages in northern 'Irāq.

YEZIDI VILLAGES IN THE REGION OF MOSSUL

1. Ba'šīqah.[1] Yezidis, Muslims, and Christians. The Yezidis who inhabit it are called Ṭāžiyyah (B).
2. Baḥzānī.[2] Yezidis, Muslims, and Christians. The majority are Yezidis. It is near Ba'šīqah. The same.
3. Mahad or Mahat Yezidis.
4. Īsyān (A) or Īsbān (B).[3] Yezidis.
5. 'Ayn Sufnī or Sifnī (B).[4] The centre of a *qā'immaqāmiyyah* Yezidis and few Muslims and Christians. It is the centre of a *qaḍā'*.
6. Bā'adrā. Yezidis. The village of the Amīr.[5]
7. Būzān. Yezidis.
8. Ḫūrzah or Ḫūrzān. Yezidis.[6]
9. Mahmūdān. Yezidis.
10. Taftiyān or Ṭaftiyān (B). Yezidis.
11. Ḥatārā.[7] Yezidis. To be distinguished from Ḥatārā aṣ-Ṣuġrà, which has only Muslims.
12. Baybān.[8] Yezidis.
13. Ğarrāḥiyyah. Yezidis.

[1] There is a tribe called Ba'šīqah, its chief is Ṣādiq ibn Rašīd. This tribe speaks Arabic, al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ١٨.

[2] The chief of the tribe Baḥzānī is a certain Ḫiḍr Āġā ibn 'Abdāl. This tribe, too, speaks Arabic, al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ١٨.

[3] Īsbān seems to be the right spelling, and the first one, Īsyān, is very likely a misprint.

[4] This village is mentioned in the subscriptions of the document presented by the Yezidis in the year 1872 to the Ottoman Government, Joseph, *AJSL*, xxv (1908), 156 and 247.

[5] Of the Yezidi Amīr of Šeyḫān.

[6] In the above-quoted document the name is spelled Ḫuzrān, Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247.

[7] al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ١٧, it is a Kurdish tribe; Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247.

[8] Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247.

14. Bāpīrah or Bābīrā.[1] Yezidis.
15. Garay Paḥan or Giray Pa'an (B) or Garaypān (A).[2] Its meaning is "the wide hill". Yezidis and with them are a few Nestorians.
16. Kabartū.[3] Yezidis. Some houses belong to Nestorians.
17. Rubaybī. Yezidis. There are some Nestorian houses.
18. Mām Šaḇān, Mām Šīḇān (A). (Meaning) "our uncle the shepherd". Yezidis.
19. Ṣūrkah. Yezidis.
20. Guṭbah or Kūdbā. Yezidis.
21. Zayniyyāt. Yezidis.
22. Čambarkāt. Yezidis.
23. Ḫānık. Yezidis.
24. Qabaq or Qabag. Yezidis. B says that this village and the preceding are *one* village.[4]
25. Dihkān. Yezidis.[5]
26. Ḫuzšanah or Ḫuršanah (B).[6] Yezidis mixed with Nestorians.
27. Rakkābah. Yezidis.
28. Sīnah or Sīnā.[7] Yezidis.
29. Šeyḫ Ḫudrī or Ḫuḍrī. Yezidis.
30. Šārī, Šāriyyah (A). Yezidis.
31. Dūġāt. Yezidis.
32. Sarīškah or Sarīčkā. Yezidis.
33. Baqqāq. There are Tayyāriyyah, Muslims, and Yezidis.
34. Baybānī.[8] Its inhabitants are Yezidis.
35. Kays Qal'ah or Ĝays Qalā. To the east of Mossul.
36. Ḥasaniyyah. To the east of Mossul.

[1] In this village there is a *šaḫṣ* of the Yezidi saint, Bāṭī. Furlani, "I santi dei Yezidi," *Orientalia*, v, 70.

[2] Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247.

[3] Joseph, loc. cit., 156 and 247.

[4] A makes a distinction between them.

[5] Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247.

[6] Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247. Ḫuzrān is not the same name.

[7] Joseph, loc. cit., 156 and 247.

[8] This village is omitted by B; Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247.

37. Ḫūšābah.[1]
38. Ḫarāb Kūlk.
39. Dūġātā or Dūġāt or Dūġayt.[2] Its inhabitants are Yezidis.
40. Sandānak. Yezidi, but now its inhabitants are Muslims.
41. Šaraf Mīrān (A). One of the villages of the (Gebel) Maqlūb. Its inhabitants are Muslims. B has Šaraf Ḥayrān.[3]
42. Šaraf Ğabrān (B).
43. 'Ayn Baqarah.
44. Gar Ḫāliṣ.
45. Mirgay, Maġārah (A), Mirgah (B).
46. Mūskān.[4]

FROM THE VILLAGES IN ŠEYḪĀN

1. Bīrastak (B), Birīstak (A).
2. Kābārā (A), Gābārah (B).[4]
3. Ğagānah or Ğagān.
4. Ḫirbah Ṣāliḥ.
5. Qaṣir Yazdīn.
6. Summayl. There are now no Yezidis (B).
7. Bāqasrā.[4]
8. Ğardānā (A), Ğarwānā (B).
9. Muqbil.
10. Kandālā.
11. Dūšiqān. With the meaning "two valleys" (B).
12. Milāčah Parā (A), Mil Čaparā (B).
13. Nuṣayriyyah (A), Nuṣayrī (B).
14. al-Mamān (A), Mamān (B).
15. Mašurfah or Mašurfī (B) or Mašurf (A).

[1] Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247; Furlani, loc. cit., 74.
[2] This name is omitted by B.
[3] In Joseph, loc. cit., 156 and 247, we read Ḫayrū, but it is not the same name.
[4] Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247.

Formerly Yezidi Villages

Names of some villages in which there were, in former times, Yezidis, but in which there are no more nowadays.

1. Šeyḫ Šiblī.
2. Sayfdīnān (B), Š.q.d.n.y.ān (A), on the Ḫāzir, which is a river that flows into the Upper Zāb.
3. Šeyḫ Ḫāluk or Šeyḫukā.
4. Muḥammad Rašān. This is the right pronunciation of Mām Rašā.[1]
5. Šeyḫ Bizaynī.
6. Mammūzayn.
7. Qaryah 'Abd al-'Azīz (B).[2]

The list of Yezidi villages gives us also the names of some Yezidi saints which can be added to the list we have made for *Orientalia*, v, under the title " I santi dei Yezidi ".

Finally we wish to point out that the list of al-'Azzāwī is not exhaustive and omits the names of some Yezidi villages.

GIUSEPPE FURLANI.

[1] Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247; Furlani, loc. cit., 65, and note 2.

[2] 'Abd al-'Azīz was one of the brothers of Šeyḫ 'Adī. Furlani, *Testi*, 38.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

Arabs of Central Iraq: Their History, Ethnology, and Physical Characters. By Henry Field, with Introduction by Sir Arthur Keith. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 474, pls. 156, figs. 48, maps 3. Anthropological Memoirs, Vol. IV. Chicago Field Museum of Natural History, 1935.

Mr. Henry Field here brings the sheaves from his 1928 harvesting in the Middle Euphrates with calipers, anthropometer, and camera, and very welcome they are to the physical anthropologist whose Arab barn is comparatively empty. The Arabs of his measurings are shown to be "a highly differentiated race" displaying "tendency to variability in a marked degree". The explanation is in part due, perhaps, to Iraq's mixed racial inheritance—Sumerian, Babylonian, Cassite, Persian, Mongol, yet the variability is of a nature which Sir Arthur Keith, in the introduction, regards as representing an evolutionary factor of importance. Mr. Field's early researches under Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton at Kish in 1926 are here continued in his own extensive field work. His subjects fall into three groups, (*a*) 398 Kish settled Arabs, (*b*) 38 Ba'ij beduin who roam the *jazīra* between the Two Rivers, and (*c*) 231 Iraqi soldiers recruited from up and down the land. For each individual, three measurements were made relating to stature, eleven to head features, and twenty-three other observations were noted. If pigmentation was left to eye-estimation rather than obtained by the regular standard colour-test, it is a single omission which serves to emphasize the meticulous care and exhaustiveness of the work as a whole. No less than nine indices are calculated for each individual—a stupendous task.

Mr. Field's analysis of his data follows his tabulated statistics (these take up the bulk of the monograph), and is clearly illustrated by excellent graphs showing comparative

indices of his three groups. Sir Arthur Keith's introduction, extending to 74 illuminating pages, is, in part, an empirical survey of the physical characters shown by the portraits (these consist of a beautiful series of 156 plates at the back of the book, a full-face and profile photograph of each individual measured, numbered to correspond with its particular table of statistics), and, in part, a synthesis of the data. In a series of charts, each important feature of one or other of Mr. Field's groups is taken in turn and correlated with its corresponding feature in groups of neighbouring peoples—Egyptians, Somalis, South Arabians, Armenoids, Chatris (United Provinces), and Pathans (Punjab).

Mr. Field, whose investigations were continued in 1934 in other areas and extended to pre-historic researches, holds the opinion that the Arabs of Central Iraq are predominantly Mediterraneans. The earliest known inhabitants of the North Arabian desert, he postulates, were dolicho-cephalic proto-Mediterraneans. Desiccation drove those not content with a nomadic existence east and west, the former to settle in the Euphrates valley, where, in the fifth millennium B.C. they were overcome by Sumerians, presumably a brachy-cephalic people, these latter, in turn, to be overrun by later waves of longheads—a theory he considers to fit in best with ancient skulls excavated by the archæologists (long-headed from Kish and Ur, round-headed as well from the former place) and ascribed to the fourth millennium B.C. The cranial capacity of these ancient skulls, it is of interest to note, is 100 c.c. bigger than that of the modern Arab.

Round headedness among his living Arabs—rare in Kish, with a tendency to increase in soldiers recruited from the Mosul area—is Armenoid in form (i.e. a characteristic flattened occiput and short post-auricular dimension) and thought to be intrusive. In this connection it has been noticed that the heads of rulers depicted on ancient South Arabian coins suggest that the intrusion was early and went deep (coastwise ?). On the other hand, the reviewer found the brachy-

cephaly of modern South Arabia to be not purely Armenoid in form, generally lacking the characteristic heavy and convex Caucasoid nose, and being curiously linked with frizzy hair (not negritic), deep pigmentation, and other Hamitic features. As the survivals of the ancient South Semitic tongues are to be found exclusively among this group of round-headed tribes, so different from Mr. Field's dolicho-cephalic Mediterranean man, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that in the south there survives a residue of Arabia's ancient stock: and hence the problem of evolution of variant types within the peninsula is fraught with complexities.

Mr. Field is to be warmly congratulated on this very notable contribution to the ethnology of Iraq—the word "history" seems to have got into the sub-title of this volume IV by mistake—and those interested in the problem of racial evolution of west Asiatic peoples will look forward, eagerly, to the publication of the results of his later field work (1934).

A. 755. BERTRAM THOMAS.

Far East

TRAVELS OF A CHINESE POET. TU FU, GUEST OF RIVERS AND LAKES, A.D. 712–770. Vol. II, A.D. 759–770. By FLORENCE AYSCOUGH. 9¼ × 6¾, pp. 350, ills. 17. London: Jonathan Cape, 1934. £1 1*s.*

In this, the second and concluding volume of Tu Fu's autobiography, Mrs. Ayscough has selected and translated those poems which most vividly tell the life-story of this famous poet-official of the Tang Dynasty. The first volume covered the periods of childhood, youth, and middle-age, and gave us a description of the brilliant court life at Chang An, where Tu Fu took part in affairs of state under Ming Hwang, the Bright Emperor. But in the volume under review the shadows begin to lengthen, and we see, as in a horizontal scroll, a tired traveller nearing the end of his journey through mist, rain, and storm.

Tu Fu, while holding office as Imperial Censor, had given offence to the Emperor Su Tsung, who caused him to be sent to far distant Hwa Chou as a minor official. He was only forty-seven years of age when he was finally driven from this last humble appointment by drought, famine, and rebellion. He compares himself to drifting thistledown and writes:

"For the remains of my life I will tarry by rivers and streams
Living familiar among woodcutters and fisherfolk."

Eleven years spent as a "Guest of Rivers and Lakes" were productive of a large collection of poems. Pleasures of his earlier life reappear in such lines as

"Again leading lovely ladies we embark
In boats festooned with bright silk hangings."

And there were occasions when the poet was fêted by high officials and enjoyed once more the reflected glory of the "Son of Heaven"; but most of the poems describe the simpler joys and sorrows of a wanderer seeking only shelter and food, and peace for himself and his little family.

"In mid-moon of Summer much water flows,
At bright hour of dawn I visit small garden.
Little boat slides across breadth of jade-grey stream,
On branches shine masses of scarlet fruit.
I come because hills and streams are peaceful,
Am driven, to avoid clamour from market well.

Fifty *mou* of vegetable fields wind round my thatched dwelling,
For ourselves there is enough to gladden the evening platter."

Tu Fu died in A.D. 770 in poverty and exile; but, on the site of his small thatched dwelling by Washing Flowers Stream near Cheng Tu, there now stands a temple, a national memorial to honour the man who was not only an outstanding example of the incorruptible official, but a poet who ranks with Li Po

as one of the chief writers of the Tang Dynasty, the greatest period of Chinese literature.

The poems were translated from the *Tu Hsih Ching Ch'uan* —"Mirror which Reflects the knowledge and Estimates the Quality of Tu Fu's Poems." The task confronting the translator who attempts to render into English a Chinese poem can only be appreciated by a careful reading of the original text. The monosyllabic form of the language, the tones and rhythmic balance, the terse idiom and repetition of characters, together with the concentration of meaning and allusion in a single phrase, produce an effect which cannot be brought over into an alien tongue. Referring to some of these difficulties Mrs. Ayscough compares her work with the decoding of a modern cablegram and believes that "the translator should cling to the form, text, and idiom of the original as closely as possible". To accomplish this she has frequently omitted articles, conjunctions, and other "empty words" which do not appear in the Chinese text. The result in English is sometimes disturbing, but in this volume of word pictures, vivid and sincere, the reader must feel something of the emotion which inspired the poet when he wrote of rivers and streams, beside which, Confucius said, the wise man lives.

Mrs. Ayscough has rendered a real service in placing before us this large collection of eighth century poems. The book is well produced and attractively illustrated by Lucille Douglas.

A. 255. HILDA ARTHURS STRONG.

ESSAI SUR LES GAMMES JAPONAISES. Par NOEL PERI. Bibliothèque Musicale du Musée Guimet: Deuxième Série, Tome I. 11 × 9, pp. v + 70. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1934. 25 Fr.

This is a work of importance. Although printed from an unfinished manuscript of the author, it contains a considerable amount of new material which enables us to apprehend the

theory and structure of Japanese music with greater ease than has hitherto been the case.

Until the appearance of this work, the most trustworthy analysis of Japanese music was Sir Francis Piggott's *Music and Musical Instruments of Japan* (2nd edit., 1909), and the earlier *Einige Notizen über die japanische Musik* of Dr. Müller which appeared in the *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur-und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* (1874–6). Not that the present work displaces either of these valuable books, which are still indispensable to students of the subject, but rather that it must be considered a necessary supplement to them.

The author, the late Noël Peri (1865–1922), was a French Roman Catholic missionary who spent sixteen years (1890–1906) in Japan. Being a trained musician possessing a thorough knowledge of Japanese he was invited to teach Western music at the Tokio Conservatory of Music, a position which he held for ten years (1896–1906). Although his missionary work and teaching must have left him with little leisure he seems to have found time to make an examination of the bases of Japanese music, the most important contribution to which is the present essay.

Noël Peri divides his essay into four parts: (1) Le *Gagaku*; (2) Le *Ritsu* populaire ou plagal; (3) Le *Zoku-gaku*; and (4) *Zoku-gaku* populaire, the last two parts being left unfinished by the author. Several fragments, also unfinished, have been introduced by the editors as appendices.

The book has been edited by M. Philippe Stern, the Assistant Director of the Musée Guimet, who has also added a table of the Japanese modes following the classification of Noël Peri. One feels, however, that the editing might have been improved by the addition of footnotes in many cases where the author's opinion is in conflict with other writers.

A short biography of the author has been contributed by M. Serge Elisseev and there is an excellent Bibliography. In the latter one misses the contribution of M. Maurice Courant

on Japanese Music to Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la musique* (Paris, 1913), and there is also the omission of Hirosi Endo's *Bibliography of Oriental and Primitive Music* (Tokio, 1929). *Neither the bibliographer nor the biographer mentions Noël Peri's Études sur le drame lyrique japonais* which appeared in the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient*, 1909.

A. 630. HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

THE LAST OF THE EMPRESSES. By DANIELE VARÈ. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xiii + 258, ills. 13. London: John Murray, 1936. 15*s*.

The personality of the Old Buddha exercises a fascination over all who have written on the history of China in the nineteenth century. The writer of the present volume belongs, quite unashamedly, to judge from his preface, to the romantic group of biographers. His book gives a delightful and easily read picture of the part played by the great Dowager Empress. We are still too near the events to estimate exactly her historical position, but we have on the other hand still the advantage of the presence amongst us of so many survivors of the old Peking. Those who wish for a pleasant account of Yehonala, to give the great lady yet another name, will enjoy reading a very carefully written book, which throws quite a lot of light on many controversial problems.

A. 635. L. H. D. BUXTON.

India

RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES AU COL DE KHAIR KHANEH PRÈS DE KĀBUL. Par J. HACKIN, avec la collaboration de J. CARL. Tome VII. Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan. pp. 38, pl. xxiv, ills. 14, map 1. Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1936. Frs. 80.

This short but admirable Memoir contains an account of the excavation, during 1934, of a small group of remains on the hill-side above the Khair Khaneh Pass, some twelve

kilometres north-west of Kābul. The remains, which date from the fourth or fifth century A.D., comprise a shrine with three separate chambers surrounded by a *pradakshiṇā patha* under one roof, a few subsidiary buildings, and what is thought to have been an open-air altar with an enclosure approximately semicircular in plan, on one side of it. Among other objects found in the ruins of the shrine were a fine seated image of white marble representing Sūrya with two attendants and the pedestal of another statue of the same material, of which only the feet and the figure of the donor have survived. The unusual plan of this shrine has suggested to the authors a comparison with the small Śiva temple at Bhumara in Nāgod State, Central India, and with two other temples at Nachna-Kuthara and Deoguna respectively, in the same neighbourhood, but, so far as the first two temples are concerned, it is to be noted that the similarity extends only to the presence of a *pradakshiṇā-patha* around the *garbha-gṛiha*, not to the presence of three separate chambers; and the *pradakshiṇā patha* is a feature which is common enough among Indian temples of the medieval period. On the strength of its peculiar tunic and head-dress, resembling the fashions of Shāpur II, Ardashir II, and Shāpur III (A.D. 309–388), the Sūrya statue is assigned by the authors, and no doubt rightly, to the fifth century A.D. *À propos* of it, they devote a most interesting chapter to a discussion of various Sūrya images and show how there were two distinct types in India: an earlier one of Indian (or should we rather say "Indo-Greek"?) origin, in which the Sun God is depicted in his chariot either alone or attended by his two women archers—as, for example, in the well-known relief of the first century B.C. at Bodh-Gayā; the other—a later Iranian type—in which he appears accompanied by his two male acolytes, Piṅgala and Daṇḍa—the one a bearded scribe, the other a beardless warrior. As to these acolytes, MM. Hackin and Carl also show—what had not previously been suspected—that they are directly traceable to a western origin, having their prototypes in Azizos and

Monimos (= Phosphoros and Hesperos), who stood beside the Sun God in his famous temple at Edessa, in the Dioscuri and in the Kabiri, who like Pingala and Daṇḍa are sometimes represented, the one bearded, the other beardless. The marble figure of a donor is clearly in the same style as some of the fifth century clay figures at Jauliāñ, near Taxila, and is no doubt a product of the same Indo-Afghān School. Judging by many similar articles of the first century A.D. from Sirkap, the toilet dish figured in pl. xxiii, 31, may be somewhat earlier than the date (second to third century A.D.) assigned to it by the authors. Like all its fellows in the same series, the Memoir is beautifully printed and illustrated.

A. 703. JOHN MARSHALL.

BṚHADĀRAṆYAKA-UPANIṢAD. Translated by ÉMILE SENART. Collection ÉMILE SENART, vol. iii. 8 × 5¼, pp. xxviii + 137. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1934.

The present translation of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad* is published as a posthumous work. A short analysis, less detailed than that devoted to Senart's rendering of the *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*, is added by A. Foucher, the editor, assisted by L. Renou and N. Stchoupak; and the editors have wisely printed the text and translation on opposite pages, so that the two may be readily compared. As is usual with this Upaniṣad, Senart had based his rendering on the Kāṇva recension of the text.

As all translations are interpretations, especially if they deal with the ambiguous language of Upaniṣadic Sanskrit, we are deeply interested in the many explanatory notes added by Senart himself. Most of his doubts about the subject matter and its adequate rendering fall inevitably under the common head that he, like all Western thinkers, has difficulty in following Indian logic, which is fundamentally based on a different mode of thought. Speaking roughly, it is physical

(ontological) logic, not the purely rational logic of Western tradition; for, as the editors suggest (p. xv), Indian thought is polar. The *neti-neti* definition of *brahman* (the "not-only-this" and the "not-only-that", i.e. the "all-in-one-being") is elucidated by the saying of Scotus Erigena, so strange to the general run of Western logic, that "Deus propter *excellentiam* non immerito *nihil* vocatur". India has on the whole an aversion to limits, definitions, separations, and thus to the importance of single facts and personalities, and sees the basic value in all that is not narrowed down to a definite size—the zero is the no-thing as well as indefiniteness or both in one (*ex-cellens* and *nihil*, cf. *abhvam* and *śūnya* "void", which cannot be dissociated from "*śūna*", "swollen", "immense"). See for further details of this interpretation my arguments in the *Proceedings of the XIX International Congress of Orientalists*, Rome, 1935.

In India's physical logic must be sought the explanation of facts such as the strange ambiguity of the term *satya*, the primary and predominant meaning of which is "existent", and as such is ontologically "true" (cf. Senart's notes, pp. 29, 67, and 94); the same interpretation is suggested by the whole sixth *prapāṭhaka* of the *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*. Senart hints again that the Indian basis of thought is not merely formal logic, when on p. 2 he translates *arkatvam* not as the abstract *idea* of *arka*, but as "the name *arka*", that is, name as the concrete and magical essence of the thing expressed.

His doubts as to the correct rendering of *upās* also tend to prove India's synopsis of functions and modes of thought which Western logic keeps carefully apart. Not accepting the translation of it by Boethlingk, Deussen, and others as merely "spiritual adoration", Senart renders it in most passages (cf. pp. 12, 16, 92) by "consider", because this term is also applied to the act of sexual intercourse (p. 112). Since then St. Schayer and J. Przyluski have taken this interpretation further, the latter rendering *upās* as "pay homage"

and "recognize" ("know"), while Schayer, stressing the magical and not the logical meaning of the word, interprets it as "gain for oneself". The literal translation of *upa-ās* is "sit towards" a thing, that is to insist on sharing in a thing in thought and thus in reality, to get hold of the thing in order to attain participation in it. In *Chānd. Up.*, VI, *upa-sad* (cf. *upa-ni-ṣad*) is similarly used to express the magical desire which, as in sacrifice, compels the realization of its aim as a result of the poured-out energy of mental concentration, an activity therefore (not merely passive adoration) which is bound to obtain the reaction it seeks. In this point, too, Indian thought is not confined to merely rational knowledge, but comprehends the vital forces as well.

Another crux for the Western mind lies in the manifold view which Indian thought takes of the relationship between various things. Similarity in quantity, or proximity in time or space may supply the basis for identifications in India, equally with logical or psychological connections. Hence the doubts expressed by Senart, pp. 92 and 110, as well as the difficulties which confront Western thinkers when they try to account for the manifold linkings of the Buddhist *pratītya-samutpāda*. This manner of identification becomes clear in some cases to Western interpreters as soon they realize India's different presuppositions with respect to the theory of perception. For according to Indian dogma it is, as a rule, not the sense-organ that grasps the thing, but the object that obtains physical and after that logical possession of the organ of reception. This explains the "strange" identification (Senart, p. 33) between the ocean as receptacle of all streams that flow into it and the skin, the organ of touch, the receptacle of all contacts. The activity does not arise from the organ (the *graha*), but from the object (the *ati-graha*, p. 44); as such, the *arthas* are treated in *Ka. Up.*, III, 10, as higher in rank than the merely receptive organs.

A most useful attempt has been made by Senart to trace the connections between the Upaniṣads and the later systems.

Thus he points out (p. 49) that the basic ideas of the *Sāṁkhya* system are already contained in the speculations on the *tantus*, i.e. *guṇas* (add the three *dhātus*, *rūpas*, *bījas*); and he sees the conception of the *mahābhūtas* in the early *bhūtas* of *Chānd. Up.* (pp. 78 and 88). We may add further indications of later *Sāmkhya* ideas in *Chānd. Up.*, vi. The conception of the *sat* there is parallel to the later conceptions of the *pradhānam* or *avyaktam* (cf. Śaṅkara's explanation of *avyaktam* in *Ka. Up.*, III, 11, for which he employs the very simile of the *sat* of *Chānd. Up.*, VI *avyaktam* is *śakti*, i.e. the potential productive power of the fig-tree (which is latent already in its kernel); furthermore, the emanation of the psychic organs from primeval matter is already conceived in *Chānd. Up.*, VI, and its idea of the threefold mixture of all manifested things anticipates the *Sāmkhya* doctrine of the three *guṇas* as constituents of all forms, etc. The old Upaniṣads in fact laid the foundations of all the later systems, as may be seen when on p. 6 Senart finds the later Buddhist pessimism (not towards life, but towards its passing into death) in *Bṛ. Up.*, or when on p. xviii S. or his editors emphasize that "as early as the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad* the *karma* theory was not a mystery to be lightly touched on in passing, but a fully developed dogma". A further anticipation of later systematics may be found in the use of the term *mīmāmsaka* here, as well as in other early Upaniṣads.

It goes without saying that on some occasions it is not unreasonable to adopt a mode of translation (or interpretation) other than that followed by Senart. For instance his rendering of *pratirūpam* as "beau", "handsome", p. 25, seems less adequate than the simple and literal translation, "counter-form." The image in the waters may be compared with a son; both are "facsimiles" of the original form, the latter being a reflection of qualities inherited from his parents.

To sum up, India's polar view and consequent ambiguity will never admit of a definite and clear-cut Western interpretation, though Senart's translation may be considered the relatively most adequate. B. HEIMANN.

THE BIRTH OF INDIAN PSYCHOLOGY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT IN BUDDHISM. By MRS. RHYS DAVIDS. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xii + 444. London: Luzac & Co., 1936.

In the twenty years that have elapsed since Mrs. Rhys Davids published her *Buddhist Psychology* in the Quest series, her views, as set out in a number of books and articles, have undergone substantial change, and the volume under review, as its title indicates, is an entirely rewritten version of the earlier work, enlarged by nine introductory chapters on psychology in earlier Indian literature. The first impression made by the book is the note of surprise running through it that her latest results have found so little acceptance among a younger generation of scholars; and, in view of the magnificent services she has rendered in the past to the cause of Buddhist research, she has surely earned the courtesy of an explanation, however brief, why this should be so.

Psychology, as a separate science attempting to give a complete account of man on his mental and emotional side, was unknown in India during the period under discussion, but several aspects of it were explored with objects in view which differed entirely from those of the modern psychologist. If the nature and extent of those inquiries are to be exactly appreciated, we must first form some conception of the historical order of development as well as of the purposes towards which they were directed. In these respects Mrs. Rhys Davids has this to her credit that she has been a pioneer in recognizing the existence of the problem and in attempting to find a solution; moreover she has collected many passages from the Pāli Canon and, in the present volume, from the Upaniṣads, which have not been adequately considered by others from this point of view. Yet the outcome to most of us is unconvincing. In part the love of the irregular in method, to which she admits, is to blame; and, as her treatment of the Upaniṣads is dependent on her views about Buddhism, my remarks are confined to the latter.

We are perhaps all agreed nowadays that the Pāli Canon, though often preserved in an older state than such fragments of the canons of other schools as have come down to us, contains little early and much late matter, and most of us believe that the separation of the older from the newer can only be achieved by minute and laborious inquiries, based on the principles of the higher criticism and on comparison with all the sources, including the Tibetan and Chinese translations, which are not yet adequately available to us. Mrs. Rhys Davids, however, whose detailed knowledge of the Pāli Canon is generally recognized to be unequalled, prefers to work by intuition, in order to determine the original teaching of the Buddha and the extent to which it was denatured by his followers; and thus she often believes herself able to distinguish in a sūtra those parts which represent old views from the later additions and to point out where the original text has been suppressed. The picture she thus suggests of the process by which the canon took its present shape is in many respects directly opposed to what we know of the manner in which sacred texts in India have been inflated through interpolation and addition, but inevitably in most cases absolute disproof of her assertions is as much out of the question as absolute proof. In one instance it is, however, possible to see to what mistaken results her methods can lead, namely in the remarks on pp. 185–6 on the closing sutta of the *Majjhima.* So far from its beginning being old and from its end being a later substitution for the original ending, the whole belongs to the same period and is one of the latest pieces in the collection; for, as I have pointed out elsewhere, the parallels in Brahmanical literature and the *Vibhāṣā* show the real issue to be the difference between the views of the Hīnayāna Buddhists and of the earlier teachers of Yoga on a disputed point in the practical working of yoga. It is impossible not to suspect similar misconceptions in many other cases where equally cogent proof is lacking.

This particular instance also contains its lesson for the

second aspect in which disagreement is often felt with Mrs. Rhys Davids' views. She looks on early Buddhism as a question of "Becoming", of "the More" and "the Less in Man", and denies, contrary to the general tendency of modern thought, that the practice of yoga was then an essential part of the system; thus she refuses, for instance, to see in the word *dhyāna* any technical significance till a much later age. It may be that she understands by yoga only the Yoga of the classical period; but I for one feel forced to hold, unless we are to deny all validity to the earliest, as well as to the latest parts of the canon, that some form of mystic meditation, to which no name but yoga can well be given, constituted an essential element of Buddhism from the start and was supposed to have certain effects that we should consider both psychical and physical. Thus her constructive formulation of the Buddha's doctrines appears to me to be at complete variance with all we know of Indian thought in the sixth century B.C. and to be too impregnated with modern ideas to offer a satisfying solution of a singularly difficult problem.

To sum up, this volume cannot be carefully studied without arousing in the reader admiration for Mrs. Rhys Davids' knowledge of the canon, nor without profiting him by compelling him to ponder on the true bearing of the evidence she brings forward; but it will also leave most of us with the conviction that for the correct understanding of such psychological ideas as were developed in India during this period other and stricter methods must be employed. Yet let me add that her book is not addressed solely to the captious race of scholars, and perhaps her teaching, however much it misrepresents the original significance of Buddhist thought, may prove an inspiration to Buddhists of the present day who seek to reinterpret the ancient tenets of their religion in the light of modern knowledge and modern conditions.

A. 614. E. H. JOHNSTON.

Encyclopædia Mundarica. By Rev. John Hoffmann, S.J., in collaboration with Rev. Arthur van Emelen. Vols. viii–x. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 2147–3173, letters K, L, M, N, and O. Patna: Supdt. Govt. Printing, Bihar and Orissa, 1933–4. Rs. 6, for each volume.

These volumes maintain the high standard of their predecessors. It is very unfortunate that not long after the publication of the work commenced the Rev. Fr. Hoffmann, who was its principal author, passed away, and quite recently his collaborator, the Rev. A. van Emelen, also suddenly died of heart failure. Fortunately, however, the materials had already been collected by the late Father Hoffmann with the help of his colleagues in the Catholic Mission of Chota Nagpur; and the compilation of all the Parts was completed before Father van Emelen's sad death. What now remains to be done is only to see the remaining volumes through the press. We trust a competent hand will do this.

In respect of the meaning and scope of Muṇḍārī words, and the descriptions of objects and customs, the information contained in these volumes is generally accurate. But some inferences and opinions of the authors will not command general assent. Thus under the word "Kili", the authors give a list of clan-names, many of which, as the authors admit, are names of animals, birds, fishes, reptiles, insects, trees and plants, minerals, etc.; and although mention is made of certain taboos still connected with some of these, yet they go on to say that "Taboos can exist without totemism, and the mere existence among the Muṇḍas of a partial number of taboos, and mitigated ones at that, does not make their clans totemic, does not even prove that they had been so" (pp. 2429–2430). Later this statement is modified or explained as follows: "Our conclusion is, it cannot be proved that the Muṇḍa clans ever were totemic, and it cannot be proved they never were." No ethnologist, we think, can endorse this opinion in the face of the facts set forth by the authors themselves. In fact, when the authors go from facts to theories,

anthropologists cannot always see eye to eye with them. In the matter of facts, too, the authors' inquiries appear to have been limited to data obtainable in Chota Nagpur, or a part of it alone. Thus, under the word "Kharia", we are told that "there are two branches in the tribe, the elder and the younger . . . cow's flesh is taboo to the first, whilst the other may freely partake of it. Another tribe of aborigines, the Dhelkis, though speaking Kharia, are not, however, considered by the two branches as being true Kharias, for the reason that they tattoo their women". Here the Hill Kharia section of the tribe, whose principal centre is the Mayurbhanj State of Orissa, and who are also found in the Manbhum and Singbhum districts of Chota Nagpur, are altogether ignored. Nor is there sufficient reason for saying that the Dhelki section are not true Kharias. Not only language, but close similarity and, in many cases, identity of customs point to their being different branches of the same tribe.

Another defect is perhaps the prolixity of the discussions under a few words. In spite of these shortcomings, these volumes form a standing monument to the authors' industry, their intimate knowledge of the Muṇḍa language and customs, history, and traditions, and, last but not least, their keen sympathy with the Muṇḍas.

A. 401. S. C. Roy.

The Mahābhārata: an Ethnological Study. By G. J. Held. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. vii + 348. London: Kegan Paul, 1935.

This volume is described as an ethnological study; its purpose then is in the first place to determine and define the form of human society represented in the Epic. Only after this has been done will it be profitable to examine in detail the Epic itself.

What then is the social organization described? The author stresses the fact that the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas

are represented as brothers; there was thus an intimate family relationship between the two contending parties:—

"The relation between the two parties is undoubtedly pictured by the poet as a phratry-relation. . . . The Kauravas are the elder, the Pāṇḍavas the younger brothers. The Asuras are on the side of the Kauravas, the Devas on the side of the Pāṇḍavas. The Kauravas lose, the Pāṇḍavas gain in power. During the actual battle the Kauravas are drawn up in the east, their faces turned to the west; so they fought with their faces backward (paśchāṅmukha) like the Daityas, the Pāṇḍavas fighting with their faces front (prāṅmukha) like the Devas. 'Śiva . . . lives with the Kurus.' Kṛishṇa-Vishnu belongs to the Pāṇḍavas. There is no mention . . . of a succession of royal dynasties, but simply of two separate groups related to each other as are the twin phratries of a tribe."

The dice-playing episode, which is—as has been demonstrated by Mauss—nothing but an episode in a gigantic potlatch, is consistent with the idea of a group dualism. These groups the author refers to as phratries, and this is well enough, provided that the term phratry is not used in too precise a sense. If this be granted, the question arises whether a phratry relationship such as Dr. Held argues existed between the contending parties in the Epic can be considered to fit the social structure of India during the period of creation of the Epic. The author seems to have little doubt as to the answer, and without endorsing all that he writes about the potlatch it must be admitted that the following is very much to the point:—

"In the . . . [potlatch] . . . opportunities present themselves of bringing about alterations in the social hierarchy. . . . On such occasions the rival parties encounter one another in ceremonial contests and even in hostile combat; . . . they attempt to outrival one another and to make one another 'feel small' by displaying an excessive liberality and revelling in a forced extravagance."

Moreover, Dr. Held believes that there is evidence that in

relatively primitive societies characters inherent in clan-organization still continue to exist after exogamy has given way to endogamy, i.e. there are groups within the society which continue to behave in some respects as if they were clans. Thus the older social structure, characterized by a phratry-like dualism, persists functionally after the phratries themselves have ceased to exist.

The discussion in the first chapter concerning caste, exogamy, and hypergamy, is particularly interesting. Caste is derived from the clan, one group (again the author uses the term phratry) is higher than the other. As exclusiveness becomes intensified, co-operation lessens, or at any rate assumes new forms, and this Dr. Held takes to be the dynamic element in the formation of castes.

As to the date of the Epic, Dr. Held claims that in broad outline the poem must have existed simultaneously with the social system it illustrates, which he considers is probably the period of the Brāhmaṇas.

A. 482. C G. SELIGMAN.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE THIRD DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGAR. By N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA. Madras University Historical Series, No. 11. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xxxvii + 537. Madras: University of Madras, 1935.

Of Tuluva history (the dynasty lasted but two generations) Dr. Venkata Ramanayya concerns himself only with the fourteen years following the death of Krishna Rāya, in the course of which the ambitions of wicked uncles reduced the royal lineage to impotence. This limitation enables him to deal squarely with the mass of material with which the historian of Vijayanagar is apt to be snowed under.

The reign of Krishna Rāya opens the "Augustan Age" of Telugu literature, the characteristic feature of which is the *prabandha*, a variety of *kāvya* enriched with allusions to contemporary political and socal life. In these poems, *inter*

alia, Dr. Venkata Ramanayya finds a valuable "source" for his main theme, the administrative, social, and religious aspects of South Indian civilization in the early sixteenth century; provided always that it is checked with the evidence of inscriptions and contemporary writers such as Paes, Nuniz, and Barbosa, on which he freely draws.

Of the weakness of his sources he is well aware, for only a fraction of the literary and epigraphic material has been critically edited, the "Mackenzie MSS." are still pathetically neglected, and the architecture, painting, and sculpture of the period have not yet been seriously studied. He is discreet, however, in the selection of his facts, and orderly in their arrangement. Perhaps his chapter on taxation is the best, but in a book so well balanced it is hard to discriminate. He writes with detachment, untainted with advocacy, and he mercifully spares his readers citations from the Sanskrit scriptures of Northern India. His picture of Tuluva India is very like the South India of yesterday.

In an appendix he identifies the "Catuir" of Nuniz with Kāyattār in Tinnevelly; in another he explodes the pretty story of the foundation of the Nāyaka dynasty of Madura. A map of administrative divisions would be helpful; the publications listed under "abbreviations" ought to be dated. On pp. 302, 382 the numbering of his "sections" has gone wrong.

A 573. F. J. Richards.

The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire and its Practical Working up to the Year 1657. By (†) Ibn Hasan. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. ix + 398, pls. 4. London: Oxford University Press, 1936. 18*s*. net.

This substantial volume, a successful thesis for the London Ph.D., contains much good work and the promise of better work to come, a promise frustrated by the author's untimely death. Based on very wide reading, it reviews in succession

the activities of the emperor himself and of his principal ministers, as well as the judicial system of the time: the organization of the Imperial Service was reserved for separate treatment, but in other respects the survey is complete. With one exception the account of the various departments seems to me to be satisfactory, though the description of judicial procedure could have been strengthened by including the observations of the Dutch merchant Geleynssen de Jongh, of which I gave a version in the *Journal of Indian History* for April, 1925. The exception is the relation of the general with the revenue administration, where it seems to me that the author did not quite get to the root of the matter; but to explain this would require a lengthy disquisition, so I must content myself with a caveat and the suggestion that an examination of various passages containing the phrase *mulkī wa mālī* would have carried the discussion further.

The author's attitude to his authorities is as a rule reasonable, but it seems to me that he overrated (p. 27) the compilation of de Laet, which he placed next to Monserrate among the European records, while he depreciated Roe, Terry, and Pelsaert, who are de Laet's most important sources for the Mughal court: the compiler is not above his sources except in the manner of presentation. The statement (p. 26) that Monserrate said jāgīrs were hereditary is based on the published translation, but I have shown in the *Journal of Indian History* for April, 1936, that it does not appear in the text. A more general fault is the tendency to follow the original authorities too closely: a good deal of superfluous matter is thus carried over into the thesis, while Chapter III on Farmāns is nearly as difficult as the crabbed original. Such defects do not, however, detract materially from the value of the work. The book is well printed, and the only slip I have noticed is the omission of two ciphers in the equivalent given for a kror of dāms on p. 282.

A. 758. W. H. MORELAND.

LE DICT DE PADMA. PADMA THANG YIG. MS. de Lithang. Traduit du Thibétain par GUSTAVE-CHARLES TOUSSAINT. Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises. Vol. III, pp. 540. Paris: E. Leroux, 1933.

This work is a complete translation of the famous compilation in which the legend of Padmasambhava, the Guru Rin po c'e, as he is usually called in Tibet, has been set out at length. The work of course is not unique. Round the celebrated figure of the so-called founder of Lamaism centred a vast literature which has not yet been properly studied, but which is likely to throw great light upon the traditions and religious development of Tibet. M. Toussaint is to be congratulated upon attempting a full translation of such an extensive and difficult work as the *Urgyan Guru Pad ma ạbyun gnas kyi rnam t'ar rgyas pa gser gyi p'ren pa t'ar lam gsal byed.*

But, as I had occasion to point out when reviewing in this Journal the translation of the biography of Nāropā [1] by the late Professor Grunwedel, it must be admitted that very few translators of Tibetan works seem to have as yet realized that mere knowledge of the Tibetan language is not enough for arriving at the proper meaning of these difficult texts, which are, as a rule, permeated with mystic ideas and continually refer to tantric practices or to esoteric doctrines, without a knowledge of which any attempt at translation can hardly be successful.

I quote the very beginning of the book. M. Toussaint translates:—

La princesse Mandāravā
et Kālasiddhi de la ville Où-macère-la-Laine
et Çākyadevī la Nepālaise
et Mañgalā meneuse de chiens l'Himālayenne
et encore Reine-de-la-Mer-de-Gnose
elles cinq qui vinrent au cœur du Maître
ayant en vue l'orientation de conquête

[1] Oct., 1935, pp. 677–688, *À propos* the legend of Naropa.

et la permanence des Trois Joyaux
et l'accord des deux doctrines dissemblables
ayant en vue les voies des Textes et des Formules et le dogme d'absolue sagesse,
la propitiation par les charmes d'approche
et l'intuition qui saisit les maximes de vérité,
ont fixé pour l'avenir pur, puis déposé mystérieusement
en dix mille neuf cents recensions, l'Histoire
de l'œuvre vaste où se donna corps, verbe, esprit,
le Maître d'Oḍḍiyāna Padmasambhava.

The translation should be as follows :—

The princess Mandāravā and Kālasiddhi of Bal-abans and Śākyadevī (printed text—*deva*) of Nepal and bkra šis k'ye ạdren [1] the Mon and the woman Ye šes mts'o rgyal, these five women entered the heart of the Master [2]; (then desiring) to be the leaders of men having the Karmic capacity of being converted, to establish (the supremacy) of the three jewels and to compose all disagreement between the two kinds of teachings,[3] and aiming at a proper understanding of the right meaning of the true revelation (contained) in the sūtra and the tantras (representing) the essential teaching of the gnosis (*prajñā*) and of the praxis (*upāya*) and in the appendices (formed) by the instructions concerning the secret *mantras* [4] they compiled 10,900 biographies of Padmasambhava, the Guru of Orgyan which expound fully his merits in the three

[1] All xylographs and manuscripts at my disposal read *k'ye ạdren ; K'ye* is the name of a disease. *Mon* is the generical name for the non-Tibetan tribes of the frontier.

[2] The five goddesses enter into Padmasambhava, here considered as the supreme reality, in order to be unified with his *vajrakāya* and to obtain from him the spiritual inspiration of the things which they will reveal. This is the usual process of tantric revelation. I may here refer to the beginning of the Guhyasamāja, where each of the five *tathāgatas* expounds his *vidyā* after entering the body of Mahāvajradhara and emanating again from him.

[3] Viz. the two *yānas*.

[4] This passage refers to the tantric classification of Mahāyāna literature into three groups : (*a*) Sūtras of the Prajñāpāramitā section ; (*b*) *mantra* section ; (*c*) *guhyamantra* section.

planes, the physical, the verbal, and the spiritual: adding to them the prophecies of the future; they hid them.[1]

Another example :—

A celui-là le ciel occidental Disposé-en-Lotus.
Se déclatant au sol en damiers d'or,
Il cherche et il ne trouve plus le nom éteint du Meru terrestre.
Étendant frondaisons et fleurs de l'arbre de l'Éveil,
il cherche et il ne trouve plus le nom éteint des plants fruitiers et des forêts.
Plongeant au Gange de la concentration,
il cherche et il ne trouve plus le nom éteint des rus et des fleuves.
Dedans l'arc flamboyant de la sagesse comprise,
il cherche et il ne trouve plus le nom éteint du feu du monde.

This passage seems to me quite unintelligible, but the Tibetan text is quite clear and contains the description of the world in which the western Paradise is situated: "There, in the western quarter there is a world called Padmavyūha: there with the exception of the golden surface appearing to the eyes even the name of (any other kind) of soil—mountains or rocks—is not known, and even if one searches for it one cannot find it. With the exception of the ripe fruits of the tree of illumination even the name of (other) gardens and fruit-trees is unknown, and even if one searches for them one cannot find them. With the exception of the flowing stream possessed of the eight qualities of meditation not even the name of (other) kind of water is known, and if one searches for it one cannot find it. With the exception of the flames of that fire which is the gnosis, not even the name of mundane fire is known, and if one searches for it one cannot find it." [2]

I have chosen these two examples out of many which I could easily find on every page. The conclusion is that the *Padma t'aṅ yig* still awaits a translator.

N. B. 41. GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

[1] And owing to this fact they are called *gter ma*.

[2] This description is quite in accordance with that of the *Sukhāvatīvyuha*, pp. 36 ff.

THE BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY OF UNIVERSAL FLUX. An exposition of the philosophy of critical realism as expounded by the school of Dignāga. By SATKARI MOOKERJEE. 10 × 6½, pp. xiv + 448. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1935.

This essay is a university thesis which the writer was sufficiently wise to withhold from publication for some three years of revision. Had he made these thrice three he had been yet wiser. This is not to derogate from the merits of the work thus revised; it is but the suggestion, that a theme so ambitious as this in religion or philosophy or both, should largely be the outcome of at least a decade of spiritual (not merely of intellectual and physical) maturing. The hothouse growth, engendered in preparing such a thesis for a degree, needs to be tested by a span of less artificially forced manuring. Had this been done, it is possible that, say by the year 1944, he might have come to see things in truer perspective.

Thus, restricting wisely enough his exposition, with regard to the extraordinary breadth of title of his chair, he has aimed at giving "without the historical side" (p. xxxvi) or "the purely idealistic side", the metaphysic and epistemology of Dignāga's Sautrantika philosophy, of about A.D. 500. Of this study we are invited to read over 440 pagés. Now it will be perhaps called a Philistine view to say, that since there are not and probably never will be more than fifty persons in the whole world who are wanting to know what Dignāga, cross-legged, will have thought about these topics, it was not a profitable task to lay before us. The one thing it might be to our interest to know is just the *history* of Dignāga; how, if at all, and why, is he a link in the human thought that eventually has brought us from the Veda poet, from Yājñavalkya, from Kapila, from Gotama of the Śākyas to us of to-day. We must, of course, know Dignāga's thought to answer this; but a tithe of the 440 pages had sufficed for that. In the brief introduction the author flings himself with zest into the *tabu*-ed history, and we read gladly.

But it is as historical critic that he most shows need of that extra decade. The chapters on Nirvana are by no means confined to his special topic (pp. 236 ff.). And here we read about the "clarion voice of the Lord Buddha" calling it the *summum bonum*, when some of us know that the beloved chief co-worker Sāriputta is shown saying nothing of the sort, but calling it a cathartic in the gradual purging of *rāga, dosa, moha*, and when too we can see, without much insight called for, in the First Utterance, that, sharing the *summum* with *three other rivals*, nirvana is shown as having *replaced the original term* for the highest aim: the *attha*, the *attha* called *samparāyika*, "of other worlds." It is worth any amount of time and eyesight to study what helpers of man like these two thought and taught. But at the academician pure and simple we draw the line.

A. 588. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

UTTARARĀMACARITA. Traduit et annoté par NADINE STCHOUPAK. Collection ÉMILE SENART, iv. 8 × 5, pp. lxxii + 167. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1935.

This is another of the admirable translations with text opposite, for which we are indebted to the Collection Émile Senart. Executed by a scholar who has made a special study of Bhavabhūti's works, the translation is sound and is accompanied by excellent notes with a number of parallels. A few minor points are open to criticism; thus should not *ussāvedi* on p. 51, glossed by *ucchvāsayati*, be taken rather as standing for *ucchrāpayati*, presuming the text to be correct? The introduction has an interesting section on the dramatist's language and style, but, to the reviewer's regret, does not deal at length with the question of the authenticity of the last two acts, a point which has been discussed occasionally in India of recent years and on which no one is in a better position than a translator to form definite views.

A. 616. E. H. JOHNSTON.

BHĀRATĪYA ANUŚĪLANA. A Collection of Essays in Hindi, English, German, etc. Compiled and edited by the HINDĪ SĀHITYA SAMMELANA (Hindi Literary Conference). 12¾ × 10, pp. xix + 536, pls. 8. Allahabad: Hindi Literary Conference, 1934.

The book contains a collection of some sixty treatises on historical, literary, philological, and other subjects appertaining to India and is dedicated to that distinguished scholar and historian Mahāmahopādhyāya Rai Bahādur Gaurīshankar Hīrāchand Ojhā. A large number of the treatises are written in Hindī, the remainder in a variety of other languages, both European and Oriental; where the treatise is not in Hindī, a précis of the subject dealt with is given in that language.

The contributions are all of a scholarly and interesting nature and it would be invidious to single out any for particular comment. Owing to the fact that the book had to be rushed through the press, and that there was therefore not time for all the proofs to be checked, a certain number of printing errors occur, these do not, however, detract greatly from the usefulness of the work.

The book is a fitting tribute to a great scholar and cannot fail to be of value to those interested in Indian subjects.

A 639. E. HARCOURT.

TARKA TĀṆḌAVAM OF SRĪ VYĀSATĪRTHA with the commentary, NYĀYADĪPA OF SRĪ RĀGHAVĒNDRATĪRTHA. Edited by D. SRINIVASACHAR, VIDVAN V. MADHWACHAR, and VIDVAN A. VYASACHAR. 9 × 5½, vol. i, pp. xlvi + 506, 1932. Rs. 3. Vol. ii, pp. iv + 402, 1935. Rs. 2. Mysore: Government Branch Press.

Except for Dr. Betty Heimann's able study of Mādhva in her edition of his commentary on the Kaṭha Upanishad, his system of *dvaitavāda* has been almost wholly neglected in Europe. The chief reason no doubt has been the lack of printed texts. Yet as the most thorough-going of the Indian

opponents of Śaṅkara and as a factor in the Vaishnava movement, Mādhva deserves notice. Sir S. Radhakrishnan even suggests the influence of Christianity. One of his most important followers was Vyāsatīrtha or Vyāsarāja in the sixteenth century. The work here edited deals with the nature of proof, the divine origin of the Veda, the doctrine of *īśvara*, etc., and should be of great value for the study of the logical and epistemological aspects of the system. It contains an introduction in Sanskrit giving biographical details and an analysis of the first volume. The notes are confined to the record of variants, and a third volume will complete the work.

A. 652. E. J. THOMAS.

THE VAISHṆAVAS OF GUJARAT. Being a Study in Methods of Investigation of Social Phenomena. By N. A. THOOTHI. Regional and Sociological Studies (Mainly Indian). 9 × 5½, pp. xvi + 489. Calcutta: Longmans, Green and Co., 1935.

This is the first volume in a new series on sociology inaugurated by the Reader in that subject to the University of Bombay. Though the survey is restricted, as indicated by the title, to the Vaiṣṇavas, the latter form so large a proportion of the total population of Gujarāt that for practical purposes we can take the study as covering the entire Hindu community. The book maintains a high standard throughout and the treatment is thorough, if at times erring a little on the side of discursiveness; Dr. Thoothi appears in fact to have an occasional weakness for the use of scientific jargon to disguise those points in which he has not dug into his matter deep enough to arrive at bedrock. Subject to this minor defect, he gives an extremely interesting account of the Vaiṣṇavas, and is at his best in describing the effect of religious doctrines on their social organization. A novel point to me is his description of the actual manner in which

the legal principles of *strīdhana* work (pp. 151 ff.); students of the present position of women in India would be well advised to ponder on it. The excellence of the book on the religious side is due in great part to the manner in which the author, though a Pārsī, succeeds in identifying himself with the Vaiṣṇavas, even to the extent of absorbing their prejudices.

This preoccupation with the religious motif has, however, to some degree obscured his handling of the subject in its political and economic aspects; though his account of Gujarātī society as it was is not much damaged thereby, yet his hand does lose some sureness of touch, when he comes to deal with the revolutionary social changes now in progress. The organization of castes and urban guilds owed its peculiar toughness in part to the non-existence of governments which could ensure stable political and economic conditions for the people at large; and it is significant that Dr. Thoothi finds an earlier movement towards the reformation of the structure during the period when the Mughal government was able to guarantee some degree of such stability. It would have been better, therefore, if he had studied in detail the effects of British rule on the social organization with regard to the Government's assumption of functions previously performed by the castes and to the action (or inaction) of the law courts where the enforcement of caste regulations is concerned. But, though I find this part of his work somewhat inconclusive, I fully recognize the difficulty of ascertaining the facts and of interpreting them correctly, and trust that he will be successful in keeping the further volumes of the series up to the level he has attained.

A. 736. E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1670–1677. By SIR CHARLES FAWCETT. Vol. I (New Series): The Western Presidency. 8½ × 6, pp. xxviii + 389, pls. 10, map 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936. 18*s*.

The continuation of the work of Sir William Foster, whose publications of the early records of the East India Company are well known to all students of Indian history, has now been entrusted to Sir Charles Fawcett, of the Indian Civil Service. On retiring from the High Court in Bombay, this officer wrote a history of the origin and early days of that institution He has, therefore, special qualifications for the work now in hand.

The present volume deals with the Western Presidency. Much of the material has already been utilized in previous works dealing with Bombay City and the Presidency of Bombay. It will therefore be already familiar ground to the reader.

It is interesting to note that, among many other points that arrest the student's attention, the compiler (see p. 300, footnote) has not been able to establish the truth of the tradition to which Campbell, following Hamilton, gives currency regarding the destruction of the Bhatkal factory and all its members by an infuriated Hindu mob on account of an accident to a sacred cow for which the factory was held responsible. Further research may yet reveal the facts which gave rise to this tradition.

These pages are full of interesting details, and yield an accurate picture of the struggles and vicissitudes of the company's representatives in its early days. The notes are useful, and the illustrations, though few in number, excellent of their kind.

Further volumes will be awaited with gratitude to the editor for the skilful way in which he is discharging his task.

A. 749 R. E. ENTHOVEN.

THE GAIKWADS OF BARODA. Edited by J. H. GENSE and D. R. BANAJI. English Documents. Vol. i. Pilaji and Damaji Gaikwads (1720–1768). 10 × 7, pp. xxiv + 174, pl. 1. Bombay: D. B. Taraporewala, 1936. Rs. 4.

This is an important collection of English documents, and it will be useful to any writer dealing with particular events connected with the history of Surat and Gujarāt and the gradual growth of the Marāṭhā power in this part of India, or concerned with the beginnings of the present Gāikwāḍ dynasty of Baroda. To the general student of Indian history it is of much less use, for it deals only with details which appear to have little bearing on the general development of main events. These details can indeed hardly be understood without an extensive knowledge of surrounding circumstances, and the ordinary reader may be excused if he thinks that Messrs. Gense and Banaji's compilation would have been improved if each section had contained a more detailed exposition of the historical conditions of the time. The authors appear to recognize this, for they write in their rather flowery foreword that the study of their documents "will contribute towards the foundation of the historical edifice that some enthusiastic worker may be (at)tempted to erect". The book is, in fact, one for which a future historian of detailed Gujarāt history will be grateful. One can easily imagine cases where doubtful points will be cleared up by these genuine contemporary documents, and their publication is a service to the cause of historical truth, for which we must be grateful.

The section dealing with the capture of Surat Castle contains many interesting and important documents which were possibly not all available to the late Sir James Campbell when he compiled the volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer* dealing with the District of Surat. But that distinguished writer certainly had access to some of these papers, for he refers to Surat Diaries and Surat Papers as his authority for certain descriptions. In the introduction to this section Messrs. Gense

and Banaji refer to the part played by the Marāṭhās in frustrating the first plan to take Surat Castle. This is quite clearly recognized by Campbell, and by Grant Duff before him, and it, at least, is not one of the "new vistas, the very existence of which is not even hinted at in the *Gazetteer*". The *Gazetteer* necessarily avoids details, but we cannot conclude that such details could not have been given had there been room for them.

The Introduction gives an interesting account of the Gāikwāḍ family down to the accession of the present Mahāraja of Baroda in 1875. But the documents cited are almost wholely concerned with events occurring during the lifetime of Dāmājī Gāikwāḍ, who died more than a century before 1875, and it is not easy to see the relevancy of the material offered to the Gāikwāḍ history subsequent to Dāmājī's death. Even the extract from Duncan's valuable minute of 1798 only deals with Surat affairs down to the surrender of the castle in 1759.

The book is well arranged and has been admirably printed. The index is, perhaps, inadequate.

A. 751. C. N. SEDDON.

EVEREST: THE CHALLENGE. By SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND. 9 × 6¼, pp. ix + 243, ills. 16, maps 4. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1936. 12*s.* 6*d.*

As long ago as 1907 Dr. T. G. Longstaff, Brig.-Gen. the Hon. C. G. Bruce, and the late A. L. Mumm sought permission to explore the approaches to Mount Everest and if possible attempt the summit, but it was not until after the War, when Sir Francis Younghusband succeeded to the Presidency of the Royal Geographical Society, that the idea took definite shape and the Mount Everest Committee was formed with Sir Francis as its first chairman. Since 1921 there have been six expeditions, of which two were reconnaissances and four "full dress" attempts to reach the summit. That so much has been done is largely due to the

original enthusiasm and support given to the project by Sir Francis, and there is, therefore, no one better qualified to write of one of the last great adventures left to mankind on the surface of this Earth.

In this book Sir Francis, although making Everest his principal theme, deals generally with Himalayan mountaineering and traces the development of a technique, mental as well as physical, that must one day lead to the conquest of the greatest Himalayan peaks, including as he confidently believes, Everest.

Among these expeditions are the attempts on Kangchenjunga and on Nanga Parbat by German expeditions, and various British expeditions including Shipton's and Tilman's exploration of the Nanda Devi basin, the Kamet expedition, the Marco Pallis expedition, and the second ascent of Trisul by Captain P. R. Oliver, all of which, and many others, have accumulated knowledge in the special technique of high altitude mountaineering and the problems of equipment and porterage which are equally vital to success on Everest.

As this book abundantly shows, Sir Francis sees far more than a mere physical challenge in a lofty Himalayan peak, and in his chapter "Unity with Nature" he strives to define, not unsuccessfully, the explorer's spiritual relationship with his majestic environment, a relationship which finds a practical expression in the Hindu pilgrimages to the sources of the Ganges and the sacred peak of Kailas in Tibet. From the Hindu sage who meditated on the Himalayas and wrote, "as the dew is dried up by the morning sun so are the sins of man by the sight of Himāchal," to the climber on Everest at his last gasp, cursing the weather, the cold, the food, and the discomfort, may seem a long journey for the human mind, but Sir Francis is at pains to prove that the connection is very real and the journey, in reality, very short. Thus, his book may be divided into action and reflection, the two being inevitably associated in the Everest adventure, where "acclimatization of both mind and body" are necessary.

The Himalayas in all their aspects, from the sterile slopes of Everest to the luxuriant valleys on the Indian side, with their teeming wild life, their flowerful alps, and happy contented peoples are revealed in the latter half of the book, and to cap all there is a delightful chapter on "Starry nights", which must bring to the minds of all Himalayan travellers memories of the glory of the firmament viewed through the moistureless atmosphere of great altitudes.

The original edition, published in the spring of 1936, has been brought up to date with an account of the 1936 Everest Expedition. Sir Francis treads debatable ground when he suggests a final camp on the final pyramid, as it would not be possible to retreat in the event of even a slight snowfall. To what degree are climbers entitled to risk their lives *and* those of their porters? That Everest cannot be climbed without risk, goes without saying, but with the terrible tragedy of Nanga Parbat still fresh in memory, and the reckless throwing away of lives on the North Wall of the Eiger, it behoves British mountaineers to set an irreproachable standard of sanity and maintain their sense of responsibility towards the gallant Sherpas who so cheerfully entrust their lives to them. It is the belief of Everest climbers that Everest can be climbed without descending to any degrading "do or die" methods, so sadly apparent in certain Continental climbing circles to-day. It is often braver to turn back than go forward on a mountain.

Many of the misprints in the original edition have been corrected, but there still remain a few.

Sir Francis has had as his object "to attract the attention of the world to the Himalaya", and there is no doubt that many who read this book will feel themselves drawn towards the grandest and most beautiful region of the Earth.

A. 764. F. S SMYTHE.

Nagpur University Journal. *No. 1, December, 1935. 10 × 7½, pp. 84. Nagpur: Bangalore Press, 1935. Rs. 5.*

Following the example set by several of the older universities in India, the Nagpur University has started a journal of its own, which it is proposed at present to publish annually. This first issue comprises an assemblage of seven papers on a wide range of subjects, from epigraphy, linguistics, and history to the yield and mineral composition of pasture grasses, and a detailed report of excavations at the Dorothy Deep Rock-shelter No. 1 in the Mahadeo Hills.

The format is convenient and the printing clear, and the personnel of the editorial board should guarantee efficient editing. We wish the journal a successful future.

A. 724 C. E. A. W. Oldham.

Art, Archaeology, Anthropology

The Mirror of Gesture. Being the *Abhinaya Darpana* of Nandikeśvara. Translated by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Duggirāla Gopālakrishnāyya. 9½ × 6½, pp. 81, pls. 20. New York: E. Weyhe, 1936. $5.00.

The first edition of this book appeared in 1917, and this, the second, edition differs from it by various minor improvements and additions which need not be particularized. A useful, if somewhat dry, introduction to the subject for those who wish to study the technique of Indian dancing, it would have been far easier to consult if Dr. Coomaraswamy had added an index of the Sanskrit technical terms explained in it.

A. 759 E. H. Johnston.

The British Museum Quarterly. Vols. viii–xi, Part 1. 10 × 7½, pp. (average per part) 32, pls. 16. London: Published by the Trustees, 1933–6. Each part 2*s.* 6*d.*

It is impossible to give any proportionate survey of this Quarterly which records the additions of greater or less importance that are continuously being made to the British Museum. It must suffice to say that it is admirably printed and illustrated, adequately indexed according to the different

Departments, and that it includes Recent Publications, Post Cards, and Appointments. A new department was formed in 1933, combining portions of the existing Departments of Ceramics and Ethnography, and of Prints and Drawings; it is a step in the direction of a Central Museum of Asiatic Art and Antiquities and an independent Department or Museum of Ethnology (vol. viii, p. 60).

Out of the numerous items the following may be specially mentioned: an account of the Codex Sinaiticus with plates (vol. viii, No. 77), the official pamphlet on it (ibid., p. 163), the binding of the Codex (vol. x, pp. 180 sqq.), and three letters of Tischendorf (vol. ix, No. 21). A remarkable fragment of what is regarded as a hitherto unknown Gospel, though one apparently related to the Fourth Gospel, is heralded in vol. ix, No. 49. In the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities may be noted an early painted vase (vol. viii, No. 39), the Babylonian frog amulet (vol. x, No. 4), the account of the result of a fresh examination of one of the sculptures discovered long ago by Layard (vol x, No. 29), and a summary of the British Museum excavations at Tall Chager Bazar, 1935 (ibid., No. 67). Among Egyptian items may be mentioned an important addition to the collection of demotic papyri from the Saïte and Persian periods (vol. ix, No 93), and a useful statement of the results of the application of infra-red photography to the decipherment of illegible leather MSS. In the Department of Oriental MSS. numerous additions of Persian MSS. are recorded (especially vol. viii, No. 112; vol. ix, Nos. 23, 24); and a hitherto unknown commentary on the Mishnah is described (vol. ix, No. 43). Among the various "Commemorations" are included those of Firdausī (vol ix, p. 65 sq.) and Maimonides (vol. x, pp. 39 sqq.).

With its clear print, its numerous plates and illustrations, and its almost unlimited range of contents this really fascinating Quarterly is indispensable to all who are at all seriously interested in any of the subjects covered by the Departments of the British Museum.

A. 774. S. A. Cook.

Biblical Archaeology

ABRAHAM. Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins. By SIR LEONARD WOOLLEY. 8½ × 5½, pp. 299, map 1. London: Faber & Faber, 1936. *7s. 6d.*

In this work the distinguished excavator of Ur seeks to show (*a*) what the Hebrews, through Abraham, owed to the Sumerian city, and (*b*) how the Biblical story of the patriarch might be read in the light of modern archæological discoveries.

Sir Leonard thinks that the Hebrews received a good deal of their most ancient cosmology and mythology from Ur, and that the influence of Sumeria can be detected in the early chapters of Genesis. In this part of his study he treads familiar ground, but adds many illuminating and arresting points to previous conclusions. Thus, a good point is made when it is observed that the narratives of Genesis cannot be contemporary with the events they record, since nobody wrote that kind of literature until a much later age. Similarly, Sir Leonard performs a valuable service in calling attention to the Horites (or Hurrians) as an important, but hitherto neglected, influence in the evolution of Hebrew culture. Following up earlier observations by Father Burrows, he shows that the story of Noah may well have come through a Horite medium, since in the Horite story of the Flood the hero is called by the similar name of Naḫ-mol-el.

There are some details in this part of the work, however, to which objection may be taken and which seem to depend upon errors of method. Thus, following eminent predecessors, Sir Leonard asserts that a trace of Sumerian origin may be detected in Genesis i, in the equation of the Hebrew word *tehom* (deep) with the Babylonian Tiamat—dragon of primeval chaos. To this it may at once be objected that because a word derives from a piece of ancient mythology this does not prove that every subsequent use of it is inspired thereby. Our English word "trivial", for instance, derives from a Roman superstition about the meeting of three ways, and our English word "tawdry" from the festival of St. Audrey, yet who

would assert that every modern use of them is really inspired by these ancient connections? Moreover, the Ras Shamra texts, in which the word simply means "ocean", show that *tehom* had already lost any earlier mythological meaning by the fourteenth century B.C.

Again, in discussing the story of the Flood, Sir Leonard says that the mention of bitumen (Genesis xi, 3) and of Ararat (i e. Armenia) alike evidence a Mesopotamian provenance, yet neither point is really conclusive. Bituminous pits are mentioned in Genesis xiv, 10, as situated by the Dead Sea, whilst Ararat may have been mentioned merely to suggest remoteness, just as we speak of Timbuctoo. In one of the Ras Shamra texts, far-away districts near the land of Na'iri seem to be mentioned with similar intent.

Whilst his chapters make absorbing reading, Sir Leonard seems to have laid too much emphasis upon Ur and too little upon the later migration of Abraham to the south of Palestine. It is in these southern traditions that we should doubtless see the origin of many a Biblical story, since the Israelite confederation, whose literature the Bible is, seems to have been composed in large measure from southern tribes. The fact that Israelite saga had to bring the Sumerian-born patriarch to the south shows clearly that southern connections bulked largely in the popular consciousness. This is somewhat illuminated by the Ras Shamra texts, one of which describes a war in the south between the Terachites (i.e. a moon-worshipping horde identical with the Abrahamic Hebrews?) and the prince of Zidon.

With regard to Abraham himself, Sir Leonard presents a novel solution of the difficulty that the patriarch is said to have lived for 175 years. As Sir Leonard remarks, this unconscionable age is all right for older semi-mythological ancestors, but not for so historic a character as Abraham. He therefore thinks that in an early list of ancestors, in which only the leading figure of each generation was named, an earlier Abram and a later Abraham had been telescoped

together, the sum total of the years of their two or more generations being then taken as the age of a single person! Analogies from Sumerian King-lists are adduced in support of this. The solution is certainly novel, but it may be suggested alternatively that Abram and Abraham represent northern (i.e. Sumerian) and southern variations of the same name, and that since the traditions often conflicted in the matter of chronology it was necessary to make the patriarch live an extra long life in order to cover the discrepancies.

Lastly, Sir Leonard has some illuminating remarks upon the possible sources of the Biblical stories in ancient legal records and similar documents. That some of these sources were written in syllabic cuneiform has already been shown by Sayce (*JRAS.*, 1931, p. 785, n. 1). Only thus can we account for such variants as, e.g., *Mil*-cah and *Is*-cah in Genesis xi, 29. The present writer believes that the stories also contain distorted explanations of several ancient expressions and *termini technici*, the true meaning of which was lost to the more recent writers.

Further, it is to be observed that several of the motifs attached to Abraham in the Israelitic story are attached to the chieftain Teraḫ in the Ras Shamra story of how the Terachids invaded the south of Palestine. This shows that in popular saga Abraham replaced some older hero, or rather some ideal hero of antiquity variously identified by the several tribes and caravans which went to make up Israel. Thus, the Biblical story of Abraham is but an attempt to make connected history out of several duplicate and often overlapping tales, all derived from a common source.

Despite the few points to which objection may be taken, this is an illuminating and fascinating book. The description of Ur is especially interesting, whilst the candour and frank approach to difficulties which characterize the entire volume will commend it both to serious students and to the general public. Sir Leonard is to be thanked for a timely work.

A. 644. THEODOR H. GASTER.

Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten, Hosea bis Micha. By Theodore H. Robinson. Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Erste Reihe 14. 10 × 7. pp. 160. Tübingen: F. C. B. Mohr-Paul Siebeck, 1936.

The appearance of the work of an English scholar in a commentary under German editorship is most welcome. This Lieferung (but for the last few pages) contains nothing but Professor Robinson's work. The difficulty of saying anything new in a commentary on the Old Testament is notorious: therefore the reader will be the more interested in the discussion which the author devotes to the theory (first suggested by Dr. Oesterley, I think), that there was a considerable migration of northern Israelites to Egypt in Hosea's day, and that these may have formed the nucleus of the Jewish community at Elephantine. Again, the suggestion that Hosea vi, 1–3, and xiv, 2–8, were penitential liturgies is worthy of note.

The plan of the series is to give a revised translation of the Hebrew text with critical and philological notes and a discussion of the meaning of paragraphs which appear to form a single context. On the whole the author appears to take a more pessimistic view of the state of the Hebrew text of Hosea than is justified, and some of his emendations seem somewhat arbitrary. For instance, it is sometimes the idiom of the Hebrew poets to write מצא without an object (cf. Hosea v, 6); but the author breaks up the forceful ובקשתם ולא תמצא into ובקשה אותם ולא תמצאם. Then in v, 8, where the prophet writes, "Behind thee, O Benjamin," i.e. Guard, or Look to, thy rear! the commentator proposes to read החרידו. But אחריך is an exclamatory accusative like the Arabic وراءك and should be allowed to stand. A reference to Arabic, too, would have rendered unnecessary the suggestion to alter the word זרקה in vii, 9, from the Qal to a Pual or a passive Qal, as the word does not mean *einsprengen*, but "to be white or grey". In ix, 1, אל תגיל is proposed; but the

form more commonly used is the jussive. Lastly, the proposal to read בלא כח for לא חכם in xiii, 13, seems to lack point, as the parallels cited in defence of the emendation refer to the mother, not to the offspring. On the other hand an interesting emendation for ix, 6, is suggested.

So far as Amos is concerned, Robertson Smith and Driver had a high opinion of his poetry, and it may be doubted whether many will be willing to follow Professor Robinson in applying the word *dürftig* to the prophet's style. However, mere details like the above will not obscure the expository and exegetical excellence of this work.

A 686. ALFRED GUILLAUME.

ERANOS JAHRBUCH. 8 × 6. Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1935.

The Asiatic matter contained in this volume consists of (1) an article by Mrs. Rhys Davids on *Der Mensch, die Suche und Nirvana*; (2) one by Erwin Rousselle on *Lau-dsi's Gang durch Seele, Geschichte und Welt*; and (3) a treatise by Robert Eisler on *das Rätsel des Johannesevangeliums*. Some account of Dr. Eisler's theory recently appeared in *The Times*, on which a correspondent advised the readers to suspend judgment till it had received the approval of at least two experts. According to Eisler the "disciple whom Jesus loved", and in consequence the author of a portion of the Gospel, is Lazarus, who is also to be identified with the possessor of great riches who asked what he should do to inherit eternal life, and whom according to Mark x, 21, "Jesus loved," as according to John x, 5, He loved "Martha and her sister and Lazarus". Since in John xiii, 1, it is stated that "having loved His own which were in the world He loved them to the end", this identification cannot be accepted. Next he is identified with an Eleazar mentioned by Josephus as a captain of brigands, who after plundering the land for twenty years was captured in A.D. 60 by Felix. The promised Paraclete is identified with Simon Magus, who according to Cyril of

Jerusalem assumed that among other titles. His views were put forth in a Gospel by Cerinthus, some of which was combined with the Gospel of Lazarus to form the Fourth Gospel. In doing this (it would seem) Marcion had a hand.

The printer would seem to have had no Greek type, whence the citations in that language are transliterated into Latin characters. Hebrew type is used for the observation that the difficulties of vi, 51, "the bread which I shall give is my flesh," disappear like mist before the sun if we retranslate into Aramaic, in which בשרא "flesh" is indistinguishable from the same group meaning "gospel". The mists gather again when we suspect that the latter word has no existence, the Jewish form being בשורא, the Christian סברתא. Biesenthal's suggestion that in Hebrews v, 7, "in the days of His flesh" is a mistranslation of a Hebrew "of His preaching" is decidedly more scholarly.

This treatise is certainly *anregend*, but it is doubtful whether the expert advocates will put in an appearance.

A 612. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

BY LIGHT, LIGHT. THE MYSTIC GOSPEL OF HELLENISTIC JUDAISM. By ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH. xv + 436 pp. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935.

This is a remarkable book. For the author, investigating anew the history of the mysteries, seeks to show that alongside the Greek, there ran Jewish tales also, seemingly parallel, but in reality divergent, and offering contrast, not comparison. For once the Biblical stories—like other ancient tales—had become material for esoteric reinterpretation, their heroes were turned into priests-of-mystery, able to guide the souls of the initiated to the Higher Plane, by means of the light-ray emanating from the Fountain of Life, God Himself.

Professor Goodenough regards Philo as the best exponent of these Jewish mysteries, and his treatment of the philosopher's work is entirely new. Hitherto, Philonic study was

limited to source-investigation, and to the tracing of "parallels" in the writings of Plato, Pythagoras, and the later Neo-Pythagoreans. Very suggestive is this treatment, and many, doubtless, will be encouraged to read their Philo in a new "light". He represents, of course, a higher stage in the development of Græco-Jewish mysteries, the beginnings of which, though hard to determine with exactitude, can scarcely be later than the early growth of Hellenism itself. Illustrative fragments have been preserved by Polyhistor and by Eusebius.

In several chapters our author exhibits Moses and the Patriarchs, transformed in mysterious light. Another section of his work is devoted to liturgical study—on similar lines. Yet another to the consideration of literary fragments in the same spirit. But the present volume, we are told, is but one of a series, all designed to facilitate the ultimate inquiry, a mystic's search into New Testament Truth.

Individual judgments aside, Professor Goodenough must be credited with profound knowledge of Philo's work, as indeed of many movements of the Spirit among Jews of the Hellenic era.

A. 441. M. GASTER.

Cuneiform

ALTBABYLONISCHE PERSONENMIETE UND ERNTEARBEITERVERTRAGE. By JULIUS GEORG LAUTNER. Studia et Documenta ad Jura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia. Vol. 1, $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xx + 262, fig. 1. Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1936. Guilders 10.

With this worthy beginning is inaugurated a new series of studies and documents bearing upon the jurisprudence of the ancient Near East, and the distinction of the editors warrants confidence that succeeding volumes will be of no less scientific value and interest than the first. In another sense, however, this book is only the last of a number of recent treatises, mostly German, which have of late years

transformed the study of the laws and legal documents of Western Asia into a highly organized and minutely surveyed discipline, in much the same way as other workers have simultaneously explored the resources of ancient Babylonian mathematics. Indeed, this book furnishes a curious instance of contact between these two branches of learning, for if, before completing pp. 62 and 63, the author had inquired in the mathematical classroom (its address, for the present purpose, is *R.A.*, xxxii, 188), he would have been spared some perplexity, a wilful emendation, and an unconvincing conjecture As being in the direct line of the studies above mentioned this book has all their merits of exhaustive command of the material and professional awareness of the legal issues involved, while it is probably no defect that it does not make much use of modern comparisons, which can be misleading.

It must be admitted, however, that Dr. Lautner's work is not exempt from some of the disadvantages which attend so elaborate a treatment of a single sub-division of what is itself only a single class of cuneiform texts. Some 250 closely-printed pages on such a subject bespeak an attention to detail which is almost microscopic, and nearly all of them are copiously fringed (some, indeed, principally occupied) with learned footnotes, to the sad confusion of the reader who is thus set the impossible task of reading as it were two books at once, and that on an occasion when the main theme is itself of a nature to require his close application. The result is that a clear understanding either of the general course or the detail of the argument can be obtained only by constantly turning back from innumerable byways and retracing each time a few of the preceding steps along the main road; in a familiar phrase, it is unusually hard to see the wood for the trees. Even if it may be assumed that the number and length of the 680 footnotes are never superfluous (and an early example on page 8 might suggest a doubt about this) it seems evident that much clarity would have been gained by some other

arrangement, even were it only the mechanical device of grouping them all together at the end of the book so as to be withdrawn from their distracting competition with the text. And a few summaries, comprising the various sections and the whole discussion, would have been most helpful. Since, therefore, by its arrangement the book seems destined to be a quarry of details rather than the exposition of an argument we must be grateful for a *Sachregister* while perhaps regretting that it does not include more Babylonian words.

The criticisms of which this notice has up to here mainly consisted should not be allowed to suggest that the author's encyclopædic knowledge of his subject and the justice of his conclusions are not appreciated; neither the one nor the other can be called in question. I would not venture, where he has not thought fit, to outline the divisions of the subject as he has treated it. These must be left to the title of the book and the page of contents at the beginning. Particular interest, however, attaches to his examination of the *ṣimdat šarri* clause, and there is a remarkably valuable section which extracts a deal of information from such unpromising documents as lists of labourers. It is not a light task to work through this book, but none who undertakes it need fear that his reward will ultimately be inadequate.

A 714. C. J. Gadd.

Ur Excavation Texts. II, Archaic Texts. By Eric Burrows. Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, to Mesopotamia. 13 × 9½, pp. vii + 67, pls. London: British Museum. 35*s*.

The author was epigraphist to the expedition during part of its long and successful work at Ur. It has fallen to him to edit the earliest tablets found there; mostly below the Royal Cemetery and of date roughly between 3000 B.C. and 2500 B.C. A most laborious task most successfully accomplished. He has reproduced in firm copy 425 tablets and

pieces. A comparison of his copies with the photographs (six plates) of originals gives some idea of the difficulties of his task. The rest of the volume is based on the tablets, which have been studied from every angle, and the results are set down with a minimum of theory and a very satisfying amount of fact and comment.

The sign list of 420 signs and 32 numerical representations is accompanied by references to the Ur tablets in the present collection and often by comparative references to the forms of the sign on tablets found at Jemdet Nasr and at Fara, between which types many of the Ur signs are a bridge. It may perhaps be safe to say that we can now trace the history of many signs from their origin in picture to their fixation in the Assyrian wedge-form; from drawing to diagram. More than fifty Ur signs are in form new, and cannot as yet be correlated with any Jemdet Nasr or Fara or later Sumerian sign.

In the matter of grammar, the tablets offer little. Of verbal suffixes there is a small advance on Jemdet Nasr but not so much as at Fara. Devices of writing such as determinatives and phonetic complements are here; the latter fairly often, the former, such as *dingir, ki, še,* apparently only when clarity demands them.

At this time there would seem to have been no king at Ur; he was represented by the *sangu*. Society was well organized. Land tenure was already of the three sorts known to us at the later time of Urukagina of Lagash: land for the support of the temple; land for the support of the temple personnel; and tenant-farm land. The cereals were barley, emmer, and wheat; whence the products meal, bread, malt, and beer. These were the staple supports of a population of farmers, landsmen, fishermen, craftsmen (smith, carpenter, potter, image-maker, builder), herdsmen of sheep, oxen, and asses, and slaves, though these last occur seldom, and under the forms *arad* (? better Sumerian *urda* or *erí*), *gím* and *edin-bar*, which, according to Fr. Burrows, is "man of the desert".

The merchant or usurer (*dam-qar*) and the judge (*di-kud*) are not mentioned.

Religious data include feasts, offerings, temples, and gods, or rather goddesses, for Fr. Burrows points out that "in the list of gods nearly every intelligible name, except of animals and things, is that of a goddess". Occupied with religion are the exorcist, the priest, the oracle-priest, and the slaughterer (*sag-tun*). There is an excellent note on *sangu* in the sign-list.

A supplement contains fifty pieces of early date but rather later than that of the main collection. From these are taken ten month-names, most of which have the grammatical ending *-ka*. It is interesting to recall that in the later month-names of Ur III *-ka* is hardly ever written. A rare if not unique instance of its use at Drehem is an unpublished B.M. tablet (No. 103414): *itu* u_5*-bil-ḫu-kú-ka*.

Fr. Burrows' comments on the various products and trees are always illuminating. Indeed every page is just the thing.

A. 593. T. Fish.

Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte der Keilschriftliteratur, Die assyrischen Konigsinschriften vor 722. Der Schreibgebrauch. By Albert Schott. Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft 13. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 12$, pp. xvii + 158. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1936. RM. 13.50.

Professor Schott begins a series of monographs in which, by devoting various investigations to epigraphy, phonetics, philology, and *die bewegenden Gedanken eines Zeitalters* (the characteristic ideas of a given period), he hopes to formulate principles for dating literary cuneiform documents, tracing them through the various ages of their successive editions to the periods of their origins, and even to determine the cities in which they were written. He has planned five sections of this great investigation. The book under review is confined to the peculiarities of the *script* of one period,

one country, and one *class of literature as seen from the title*, a class of literature which can always be dated, and consequently the forms of the cuneiform signs and variant spellings can be historically arranged. He proceeds, as a general introduction, to give a list of books in which list of signs for various groups of texts of various periods are given. The earliest known list of signs from Jemdet Nasr, OECT. VII, is omitted.[1] There are also lists of the principal works on grammar and philology, and here Weir's Lexicon of the Babylonian and Assyrian prayers and Ehelolf's *Wortfolgeprincip im Assyrisch-Babylonischen* are not mentioned.

The author has made statistics for the writing of all syllables of the form designated *coc*, i.e. consonant + vowel + consonant, and by this means he is sometimes able to determine the period of a text by distinguishing between the manners of writing a syllable, for example *ban* or *ba-an*, *nin*, or *ni-in*. The system is extremely complicated by use of forty different symbols which makes his work as difficult to understand as an advanced algebraic problem. Moreover there is no index of the signs discussed. As an example of the patient compilation of statistics this great undertaking beats anything ever written on Assyriology. A few new and revised readings are established in the critical notes.

A 665 †S. LANGDON.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes —

CHINESE SHADOW SHOW. By GENEVIEVE WIMSATT. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936.

AIR OVER EDEN. By "H. W." and SIDNEY HAY. London: Hutchinson, 1937. 18*s*.

INDIAN STATES IN THE FEDERATION. By N. D. VARADACHARIAR. London: Humphrey Milford, 1936. 5*s*.

[1] Since this review was written a still earlier list of signs from Uruk has been published by Falkenstein.

Königtum Gottes. By Martin Buber. Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1936.

Indian Peepshow. By Henry Newman. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1937. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Far East in Ferment. By Guenther Stein. London: Methuen, 1936. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The War in Abyssinia: A brief military history. By Edward Hamilton. London: John Heritage, 1936. 5*s.*

Al-Bukhari: a collection of Muhammad's Authentic Tradition. By I. H. el-Mougy. Cairo: Al-Azhar University, 1936.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

20th May, 1937

Professor Margoliouth, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., President, in the chair.

The proceedings began with the reading and confirmation of the Minutes of the last Anniversary General Meeting on 14th May, 1936.

We have but lately welcomed to the throne our present patron, His Majesty King George VI, among whose titles is that of "Emperor of India". Upon the occasion of his accession, the following address of loyalty to Their Majesties, as approved by the Council on 14th January, was signed by your President and transmitted to His Majesty's Private Secretary at Buckingham Palace.

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

"The humble Address of the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

"May it please Your Majesty,

"The President and Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland offer their cordial thanks to Your Majesty for graciously consenting to continue that Patronage with which they have been honoured by the Sovereigns since the foundation of their Society. They would also desire to assure Your Majesty of their loyalty and respectful attachment to your person, of their recognition of the services which Your Majesty has rendered to the British Commonwealth of Nations, and their hope that your reign may be long, happy and glorious.

"On behalf of the Council and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society. 27th January, 1937. (Sd.) D. S. Margoliouth, President."

The gracious message printed below, in which His Majesty consented to continue the royal patronage extended to this Society since its inception was delivered to the Society shortly

after His Majesty's accession. It marks the kindly thoughtfulness of His Majesty in his desire to avoid the necessity and consequent expense to Royal Societies throughout the United Kingdom, of submitting further costly addresses of loyalty to the Throne.

"Privy Purse Office,
"Buckingham Palace, S.W.

"Memorandum

"The Keeper of the Privy Purse is commanded by The King to state that His Majesty is pleased to intimate to those Societies and Institutions which were recently granted Patronage by King Edward VIII that they may continue to show the Sovereign as their Patron during the present reign, unless otherwise notified. 14th December, 1936."

A previous message from His Majesty King Edward VIII had been received as shown below.

"Privy Purse Office,
"Buckingham Palace, S.W.

"Dear Sir, "*18th June, 1936.*

"I am commanded by The King to inform you that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant his Patronage to the Royal Asiatic Society.

"Yours truly,
"(sd.) Wigram.
"Keeper of the Privy Purse.

"The President, Royal Asiatic Society,
"74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1."

We regret to announce the death of the following Honorary Members and others since the last Anniversary Meeting: their loss will be deeply felt by the Society.

Professor S. H. Langdon
Sir James Stewart Lockhart
Professor R. Gottheil
Professor Snouck Hurgronje
Khan Bahadur M. H. Khan
Professor Antoine Meillet
Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra
Major G. H. Rooke
Mr. W. S. Talbot
Professor Moritz Winternitz
Professor J. H. Woods

In Sir James Stewart Lockhart the Society has lost a member of nearly sixty years' standing, a Member of Council for many years, and Honorary Secretary for seven. He represented the Society on many Congresses and Committees, and on the Governing Body of the School of Oriental Studies for ten years. It was through his influence that the Chinese Library was catalogued and rendered more convenient for purposes of reference. In him the Society has lost a devoted friend and the Council a kindly and shrewd adviser.

The following Members have resigned :—

Mrs Beaumont (Miss D. Varley)	Mr. R. N. Mathur
Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar	Professor R. K. Mathur
Rev. T. W. Castle	Rev. W. Munn
Mr S. P. Chaudhury	Mr. P. S. Noble
Sir William Hornell	Dr. J. D. Pavry
Mr. S. N. Joshi	Rai Bahadur L. Sita Ram
Mr. H. Jowett	Mr. B Rubenstein
Mr. A. S. Kent	Seyyid R. Said-Ruete
Wing-Cr. R. T. Leather	Mr. C. D. P. Sharma
Mr. H. Loewe	Mr. L. Wynch

The following have taken up their election —

As Resident Members

Miss E. L. Beckingsale	The Hon. Desmond Parsons

As Non-Resident Members

Mr. K. S. R. Acharya	Mr. A. B. M. Habibullah
Mr. S. D. Ahmad	Rev. H. St. J. Hart
Mr. Y. D. Ahuja	Khawaja A. Haye
Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua	Mr. E. B. Howell
Professor M. A. Bhaskaranand	Mr. M. A. Husain
Mr. R. C. Bhattacharyya	Dr. C. Inostrantsev
Mr. C. Siva Bushanam	Rai Bahadur Pandit D. Joshi
Mr. Iqbal Din	M. Adrien Maisonneuve
Mrs. E. S. Drower	Mr. K. S Mathur
Mr. W. le B. Egerton	U Nyun Maung
Mr. G. B. Gardner	Mr. H. S. Mordia
Mr. N. N. Ghosh	Mr. B. R. Pearn

Mr. A. N. Polak	Mr. C. Sarawgi
Mr. Indra Prakash	Mr. V. Stoloff
Professor V. A. Riasanovsky	Dr. W. W. Tarn

Mr. J. S. D. Thornton

As Library Associates

Rai Bahadur Professor S. K. Bhuyan	Mr. S. H. Hansford
	Miss A. C. Hayter

As Student Associates

Mr. V. R. Deorars	Miss Rose Quong

As Resident Member compounding for Subscription

Baron Edward von der Heydt.

The President and Council have elected—

Professor Carl Brockelmann, of Breslau
Professor Jules Bloch, of Paris
Professor Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, of Leiden

to take the places of Professor Snouck Hurgronje, of Leiden, Professor Antoine Meillet, of Paris, and Professor Dr. Moritz Winternitz, of Prague, as Honorary Members of the Society.

Under the terms of Rule 25, 37 persons ceased to be Members of the Society owing to non-payment of their annual subscription. In 1935 the number was 28. The total number of Members is 751 : this shows an increase of 3 during the year. The number of subscribing libraries is 244, that is to say, six less than last year. In cases where resignations have occurred the reason given is generally that expenses must be reduced as a result of world conditions. The number of Library Associates, under Rule 16*a*, has increased to 25 and Student Associates to 5, thanks to the thoughtful help of Professor Yetts, Dr. Margaret Smith, the Staff of the School of Oriental Studies, and others, who have brought the Society's Library to the notice of their students. As has been mentioned above, they seem to be taking full advantage of their privileges.

Unhappily the uncertainty of the political and economic outlook and the resulting paucity of new members and

supporters, have again rendered it impossible to increase the size of the *Journal*. It will be remembered that it was decreased to 900 pages in 1934, and to 800 pages in 1935. Though this has had no effect in diminishing the matter submitted for publication, it has forced the Council to return papers which would otherwise have been considered, and to invite contributors to curtail their contributions.

Owing to the same causes, the annual grant for maintenance of the Library has had to be limited as in the last three or four years. For instance, the binding of volumes in need of repair has been strictly limited to such as have been sent away on loan to other libraries, and new purchases have been reduced to a minimum, though the Library is badly in need of financial assistance in both these departments. The number of scholars using the library and the number of books found for them, as well as the number of books borrowed from, or lent to, outside libraries is continuously increasing. All this means a corresponding increase in the assistance which is given to readers. So that a small allotment is still essential for assistance to the Librarian, who has also to continue work upon the preparation of the Library Catalogue for printing.

The number of visits paid to the Library by students has been maintained at 940. The average before 1933 was about 500; it rose to 730 in 1934, and 945 in 1935. The number of books lent out rose to 830, as against 613 in 1934 and 816 in 1935. 122 books were lent to affiliated libraries through the National Central Library, and 84 were borrowed by Members of the Society through the same agency. From this it will be seen that more use is being made of the facilities offered by the Library of the Society to students of Oriental subjects.

In addition to such use of the Library, the Society is being approached more and more for information and advice on all kinds of subjects connected with the East.

Four manuscripts have been sent on loan to University Libraries at Birmingham and Utrecht, for the use of Oriental research students. Three have been returned, while the loan

of the fourth was extended by permission of your Council. Photostat copies of three MSS. were made and sent to students abroad, two to India and one to Japan. A set of photographs was also made of the inscription upon the Stone of Chandra Devi in the possession of the Society, for the Archæological Department of Mayurbanj State, Orissa, India.

During the year the Council authorized mutual exchanges with four other Societies in America, Germany, India, and Palestine.

The University of Madras is organizing the publication of a "complete up-to-date Catalogus Catalogorum of Sanskrit Manuscripts", and a notice was received from the Editor in Chief, asking for information. This has been sent.

Permission was accorded by your Council for the following extracts to be published from certain of the Society's publications :—

To Dr. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri : Extracts from O.T.F. xiv and xv, "On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, A.D. 629–645."

To Miss Delia de Leon : Extracts from O.T.F. vii, "The Kādambarī of Bāṇa," and xvi, "The Lawā'iḥ of Jāmī."

To the Director of B. T. Batsford, Ltd. : Extract from O.T.F., xvi, "The Lawā'iḥ of Jāmī."

Also to Dr. I. S. Stchoukine for the reproduction, in a volume on Persian Painting, of certain miniatures from the *Jāmi'al-Tawārīkh of Rashīd al-Dīn.*

Professor H. H. Dodwell has been appointed by your Council to represent the Society at the forthcoming VIIIth International Congress of Historical Sciences at Zurich next year.

Lectures.—A feature of the activities of the Society is the holding of lectures on different Oriental subjects, some of which are of a purely scientific character and some of a more general nature. The undermentioned lectures were given before the Society during the past session ; almost all were illustrated by lantern slides :—

"The International Exhibition of Chinese Art." By Mr. F. St. G. Spendlove.

"The Ruins of Koh-i-Khwaja and their Wall Paintings." By Professor Dr. Ernst Herzfeld.

"Shauqi and Hafiz Ibrahim." By Dr. A. J. Arberry.

"The Burusho of Hunza in the Karakoram." By Lieut.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, in the Hall of the Royal Geographical Society.

"Some Biblical Records in the light of Recent Excavations in Palestine." By Dr. A. S. Yahuda.

"The Exploration of Śrī Deva, an Ancient Indian City in Indo-China." By Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales, Field Director of the Expedition (with India Soc. and School of Or. Studies).

"Some Aspects of Muhammadanism in the Sudan." By Mr. S. Hillelson.

"Mutanabbi: The Man and the Poet." By Professor R. A. Nicholson.

"The Meaning of Sacrifices in the Psalms." By Dr. Samuel Daiches.

"Indian Art of the Buddhist Period, with particular reference to the paintings of Ajanta." By Mr. Ghulam Yazdani.

"Symbolism in Nepalese and Tibetan Art." By Mrs. Alexander Scott.

"Chinese Bronze Mirrors." By Professor W. Perceval Yetts.

"The *Hisba*: Law and Order under Islam." By Dr. R. Levy.

"The Decline of the Medieval Sinhalese Kingdom." By Mr. Humphrey W. Codrington.

"The Culture of the Shang Dynasty." By Dr. Li Chi.

"Further Excavations in the Indus Valley." By Dr. Ernest Mackay.

During the year there occurred the 1,000th Anniversary of the Arab poet Mutanabbi. He has been described as "al-Motanabbi, one of the greatest Arabian poets who ever lived" and "the Shakespeare of the Desert". His works are still read by all classes of Arabian Society. His millenary was

celebrated in many parts of the world, and here, in London, it was felt that some fitting tribute might be paid to his name and reputation by a combined commemoration under the auspices of the representatives of Oriental Governments and Societies with Arabian interests. A committee was appointed to make the arrangements, and receptions were given by the Government representatives mentioned above at the Royal Egyptian Legation, and by the Royal Asiatic Society. The latter took place at the London Museum and was attended by the representatives referred to above. After the reception the lecture on "Mutanabbi, the Man and the Poet", mentioned above was given by Professor R. A. Nicholson.

The subject chosen for the Universities Prize Essay Competition for 1936 was "The Portuguese in India". The prize of £20 with a diploma was won by Mr. Dennis Wood of Bristol University. Since its inception the competition has been won by a student from Oxford, a student from Cambridge, and by two students from Bristol.

The following work was published by the Society during the year: Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, 22, Fischel, W. J., *Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Medieval Islam.*

During the year the final arrangements were made for the organization of a new publication fund under the auspices of the Society. It has been founded by the generosity of Dr. Bimala Churn Law, of Calcutta, for the publication of monographs on Buddhism, Jainism and Ancient Indian History and Geography up to the end of the thirteenth century A.D. Information concerning it has been published in the *Journal* and in the Press. Monographs may be submitted by any Oriental scholar in the world, and the first period during which they may be received will extend from 1st January, 1937, to 31st December, 1938. It is hoped to publish the best work received every two years, in "The Dr. B.C. Law Trust Series".

Another foreign Oriental Society, the Asiatic Society of Japan, has obtained permission under Rule 103 to be admitted

as an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society. The necessary authority was given by the vote of a Special General Meeting held on 12th November, 1936.

The Society is greatly indebted to Professor Shelley Wang for so kindly completing the catalogue of its Chinese Library, consisting of over six hundred volumes, which are accommodated in a separate room. All these works are in Chinese, and are quite distinct from the large number of books in the library, on Sinological subjects, but written in European languages, mostly in English. In recognition of his valuable work in classifying and marking these Chinese volumes, Professor Wang has been invited by your Council to accept a life membership of the Society.

The congratulations of the Society are offered to Dr. L. D. Barnett upon the distinction conferred upon him by His Majesty among the Birthday Honours, when he was awarded a C.B.; also to Professor R. L. Turner, upon his appointment to the Directorate of the School of Oriental Studies in succession to Sir Denison Ross. Our old and meritorious colleague, Haham M. Gaster, was presented with a Festschrift of unusual dimensions on his eightieth birthday. The thanks of the Society are also due to Mr. G. A. Yates for his kind assistance to the Editor of the *Journal*.

By Rules 28–38 of the Society certain changes occur annually in the constitution of the members of your Council. Rule 29 lays down that the President and the Director shall each be appointed to hold office for three years. Unhappily this term has been reached by Professor Margoliouth, as President, and by Sir Denison Ross, as Director, both of whom were appointed in 1934. They have both given freely their time and thought for the benefit of the Society's needs, and their advice has ever been ready to solve those difficult problems which the present state of affairs forces upon us to our increasing perplexity. It is recommended by your Council that these vacancies be filled by the election, through the appointed method, of Baron Hailey of Shahpur and Newport

Pagnell, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., as President, and the retiring President, Professor D. S. Margoliouth, as Director.

In the same way Sir William Foster, as the Senior Vice-President of not less than four years' standing, retires, and the present Director, Sir Denison Ross, has been recommended to fill the vacancy. The following three Honorary Officers as required by the Rules must each retire, but are eligible for re-election: Mr. Ellis as Honorary Librarian, Mr. Oldham as Honorary Secretary, and Mr. Perowne as Honorary Treasurer, have earned the gratitude of the Society for their labours on our behalf. They are recommended by your Council for re-election to their respective offices. The Rev. Dr. A. Guillaume has unavoidably had to offer his resignation from the Council owing to his onerous duties as Principal of Culham College. He finds that he is unable to spare time to attend the Council meetings every month, but desires to help in any other way possible. It is recommended that his place be taken by Sir William Foster. Owing to the fact that so many of the Councillors had to resign for various reasons in 1934, 1935, and 1936, none of the Ordinary Members of the Council will have four years' service in May, 1937; consequently there are no more vacancies on the Council to be filled at present.

At one time it appeared that ill-health might deprive us of the services upon the Council of Dr. Blagden and Sir John Marshall, but both of them now hope to be able to attend the meetings later on. It is earnestly hoped that they may soon be restored to their accustomed strength and vigour.

The Society's accounts for 1936 have been audited as usual, first in a professional way and then by a board of auditors. The board on this occasion consisted of Dr. E. H. Johnston (for the Council), Sir Richard Burn (for the Society), and Sir Nicholas Waterhouse. The meeting was held on 9th March, and the auditors reported as follows:—

"The Professional Auditors explained the accounts to us,

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Resident Members	233	2	0			
Non-Resident Members	737	8	0			
Resident Compounders	25	4	0			
Non-Resident Compounders	12	12	0			
Students and Miscellaneous	37	4	4			
				1,045	10	4
RENTS RECEIVED				651	17	6
GRANTS—						
Government of India	315	0	0			
" Federated Malay States	20	0	0			
" Straits Settlements	20	0	0			
" Hong Kong	25	0	0			
				380	0	0
SUNDRY DONATIONS				10	10	0
SPECIAL DONATION				100	0	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	444	2	0			
Additional Copies sold	33	14	0			
Pamphlets sold	4	11	2			
				482	7	2
DIVIDENDS				83	4	0
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES				1	2	8
CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES					5	8
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS				5	16	4
INTEREST ON POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT					7	3
SUNDRY RECEIPTS				50	4	7
				£2,911	5	6

INVESTMENTS

£350 3½ per cent War Loan.
£1,426 1s 10*d*. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£777 1*s*. 1*d*. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960–90.

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1936

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1935						
Over-Expenditure on General Account . .	834	19	10			
Less: Carnegie Grant for printing Catalogue . . £250 0 0						
Compounded Subscriptions £572 15 3	822	15	3			
				12	4	7
HOUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent and Land Tax	498	19	9			
Rates, less contributed by Tenants . .	132	8	2			
Gas and Light, do.	87	3	7			
Coal and Coke, do.	47	6	4			
Telephone	14	1	0			
Cleaning	10	5	3			
Insurance	35	6	6			
Repairs and Renewals	57	1	2			
				882	11	9
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND . . .				30	0	0
SALARIES AND WAGES				809	2	6
PRINTING AND STATIONERY				61	9	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing	588	7	11			
Postage	55	0	0			
				643	7	11
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE				65	0	8
GENERAL POSTAGE				47	12	10
AUDIT FEE				5	5	0
SUNDRY EXPENSES—						
Teas	20	1	3			
Lectures	30	8	6			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	18	0	4			
Other General Expenditure	57	0	0			
				125	10	1
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1936						
Carnegie Grant for printing catalogue .	250	0	0			
Compounded Subscriptions Account . .	610	11	3			
	860	11	3			
Less: Over-expenditure on General Account	731	10	1			
				129	1	2
Represented by:						
Cash at Bank on General Account . .	119	8	5			
Cash at Post Office Savings Bank . .		5	7			
Cash in hand	9	7	2			
	129	1	2			
				£2,811	5	6

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { E. H. JOHNSTON, Auditor for the Council.
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

9th March, 1937.

SPECIAL FUNDS

Oriental Translation Fund

Receipts	£ s. d.	Payments	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1936. Jan. 1.		1936. Dec. 31.		
Balance . . .	220 2 5	Storage of Stock .		3 3 5
Sales (net) . .	67 10 10	Binding 25 Vols. XIV and XV . . .		2 10 0
Interest on Deposit .	1 4 10	Balance Carried to Summary . . .		283 4 8
	£288 18 1			£288 18 1

Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund

Receipts	£ s. d.	Payments	£ s. d.
Jan 1.		Dec. 31.	
Balance .	159 2 6	Balance Carried to Summary . . .	167 17 3
Sales (net) .	8 14 9		
	£167 17 3		£167 17 3

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Dec. 31		Dec. 31		
Oriental Translations Fund . .	283 4 8	Cash at Bank—		
		On Current Account .	201 1 11	
Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund .	167 17 3	On Deposit Account .	250 0 0	451 1 11
	£451 1 11			£451 1 11

Leasehold Redemption Fund

Receipts	£ s. d.	Payments	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1		Dec. 31.		
Balance	436 9 1	Balance represented by £451 9s. 5d. 3½%		
Transfer from General Account . . .	30 0 0	War Loan . .	466 9 1	
Dividends to be Re-invested .	15 16 0	Cash at Bank .	15 16 0	482 5 1
	£482 5 1			£482 5 1

TRUST FUNDS

Prize Publication Fund

Receipts	£ s. d.	Payments	£ s. d.
1936 Jan. 1		1936. Dec. 31	
Balance .	110 4 9	Binding 25 Vols XIII and XIV . . .	2 10 0
Sales (net)	21 10 1		
Dividends	18 0 0	Balance Carried to Summary . . .	147 4 10
	£149 14 10		£149 14 10

Gold Medal Fund

Receipts	£ s. d.	Payments	£ s. d.
Jan 1.		Dec. 31.	
Balance . .	40 10 11	Balance Carried to Summary . . .	50 5 11
Dividends . .	9 15 0		
	£50 5 11		£50 5 11

Universities Prize Essay Fund

Receipts	£ s. d.	Payments	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.		Dec. 31.	
Balance	137 18 10	Cash Prize . . .	20 0 0
Dividends . . .	20 15 4	Balance Carried to Summary . . .	138 14 2
	£158 14 2		£158 14 2

DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT

Dec. 31.	£ s. d.	Dec. 31.	£ s. d.
DIVIDENDS . . .	£9 10 8	BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY . . .	£9 10 8

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

Dec. 31.		Dec. 31.	
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	147 4 10	CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT . .	345 15 7
GOLD MEDAL FUND .	50 5 11		
UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND . .	138 14 2		
DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT . . .	9 10 8		
	£345 15 7		£345 15 7

TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS.

£600 Nottingham Corporation Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
£325 Nottingham Corporation Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
£645 11*s.* 2*d.* Nottingham Corporation Irredeemable "B" Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
£40 3½ per cent Conversion Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund)
Rs. 12,000 3½% Government of India Promissory Note No 034904 of 1879 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account)

I have examined the above Statements with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates in verification of the Investments and Bank Balances

N. E WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
Countersigned { E H JOHNSTON, Auditor for the Council.
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

9th March, 1937.

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
1936. Jan. 1.		1936. Dec. 31.	
BALANCE . . .	8 7 4	CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT . .	9 16 8
DIVIDENDS . .	1 9 4		
	£9 16 8		£9 16 8

INVESTMENT—
£49 0*s.* 10*d.* 3% Local Loans.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

Jan. 1.		Dec. 31	
BALANCE . . .	125 8 8	10% COMMISSION ON 1935 SALES . . .	5 16 4
SALES (NET) . . .	57 11 11	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES—Scholarship.	50 0 0
DIVIDENDS . .	203 0 4	FEE FOR RECOVERY OF INCOME TAX	4 4 0
GRANT RETURNED	50 6 2	BALANCE, CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT	376 6 9
	£436 7 1		£436 7 1

INVESTMENTS

£1,005 14*s* 7*d.* New South Wales 4 per cent Inscribed Stock 1942–62.
£1,015 16*s* 3*d.* South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock 1940–60.
£1,010 Bengal-Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
£1,148 6*s.* 8*d.* India 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock.
£700 2½ per cent. Conversion Loan
£45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class "B".
£253 18*s.* 4*d.* 3½ per cent War Loan.

I have examined the above Abstracts of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
Countersigned { E. H. JOHNSTON, Auditor for the Council.
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

9th March, 1937.

and as usual complimented the officials of the Society on their accuracy and completeness.

"As was noted last year, the statement of receipts and expenditure does not indicate at first sight the real situation. There has been an accumulated over-expenditure of £730, and in addition the receipts include a special donation of £100, while the payments do not include the bill for the last number of the *Journal*, amounting to £180. The Society is thus about £1,010 to the bad.

"E. H. JOHNSTON (for the Council).
"RICHARD BURN (for the Society).

"*9th March, 1937.*"

Under Rule 81 the Professional Auditors, Messrs. Price Waterhouse and Co., retire but, being eligible, offer themselves for re-election. It is recommended that the Auditors for the ensuing session should be Mr. Enthoven for the Council, Mr. Seddon for the Members, and Messrs. Price Waterhouse and Co. as the Professional Auditors.

The thanks of the Society are due to our Honorary Solicitor Mr. D. H. Bramall, of Messrs. T. L. Wilson and Co., for so kindly looking after our legal affairs and giving us the benefit of his advice whenever it has been asked for.

All our rooms have been satisfactorily let during the last year; the lease of the flat at the top of the house will, however, terminate on next September Quarter Day.

Some alterations have been made in two of the rooms in the premises of the Society to allow the Chinese Library to be conveniently housed in a room in the basement. This arrangement enabled a room upstairs to be suitably altered for letting purposes. It has since been let.

The President then called upon the Hon. Treasurer for his annual statement of the Society's accounts.

HON. TREASURER: Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I will try and be brief to-day. The total receipts, as you will see from the Annual Report and Accounts in your hands, are £2,811 5*s*. 6*d*. The total payments are £2,682 4*s*. 4*d*., including

the debit balance of £12 4*s.* 7*d.* brought forward. That leaves an apparent credit of £129 4*s.* 2*d.* on the year's receipts and payments. I say "apparent" because it is not the fact. The receipts include £100 earmarked as a special donation, which cannot be counted as ordinary receipts and payments of the Society, and that has since been paid, so that the real balance is £29 1*s.* 2*d.* And yet not even that, because, as a matter of fact, we really owed, and ought to have paid, some £180 for the October *Journal*, which is usually paid before the end of the year. That has since been liquidated also, so that I think we ought to consider it as an item in last year's account. If, therefore, you deduct the £29 1*s.* 2*d.* credit balance from £180 you have a real debit of about £150 as between ordinary receipts and payments on the year. I mention this because the Auditors' Report, set out in the Council's Report, mentions these points.

This is just about equal to the debit on the previous year, so we were able to maintain our position in spite of the great fall in receipts which I will talk about presently. The Auditors' last sentence in their report reads: "The Society is thus about £1,010 to the bad," meaning the accumulated debits of the last few years. I accept the round figure at any rate, and, although it is bad enough, after all it is money which we really owe to ourselves, so to speak, and not to a third party, because it is money which we should otherwise have had to raise out of the sale of investments. This £1,000 which has come to us in various ways, and which we have utilized, we hope to repay one day and credit back to capital to which it belongs.

Now I pass to the details of the accounts themselves. I have made here a sort of comparison between 1936 and 1935, which latter I may remind you was rather a poor year. Receipts have been falling for some years now, but last year (1936) we had a total of subscriptions of £1,045 10*s.* 4*d.* only. That shows a heavy fall of about £130 as compared with 1935, a decrease in every branch except resident compounders, where there was an increase of about £6. Our rents, on the

other hand, are about £35 more, and this comes because, as you will notice in the report, all our rooms are now let, and we get a full income from them, but the lease of the top flat comes to an end next September, so, allowing for the rates we pay on it, we shall lose about £200 per annum unless we can find another lessee.

As regards the Governments' grants, they remain as in the previous year, except that the Federated Malay States have only given us £20 instead of £40, the usual amount for years past. I am glad to say they have promised to increase the grant again to £40 this year.

The *Journal*, and this is really a happy point, gives a very satisfactory increase of about £50 as between 1936 and 1935, showing that our publications are still maintaining their "always has been" value in the world of scholars.

The sundry receipts are also about £10 more than the previous year, so that on the whole, although there are a good many decreases. we have had some increases, and this accounts for our total being this year £2,811. But from that we ought to deduct, to show what our real income is, the £100 which, I have already said, was earmarked for a special donation: thus making £2,711 5*s.* 6*d.* for ordinary receipts, as against £2,779 15*s.* 4*d.* in the previous year, showing a decrease of about £68 9*s.* 10*d.*

On the payment side we bring forward first a debit of £12 4*s.* 7*d.*—that was to equalize the receipts and payments on the previous account. Under the heading of the House account, rates are some £28 more than last year, a good deal of which is paid in respect of the top flat, as before mentioned. Gas is £18 more, coal £14 more, and the repairs about £25 more. The total of the house account is therefore something like £75 in excess of what the previous year's account was.

The printing is £6 more, which is negligible. The *Journal* is about £280 less on the face of it, but here you see we have only paid for three quarters instead of the fourth quarter, which I have just told you about, which was unpaid at the

end of the year, so in fairness we ought to add on the £180, which will make a total of £768 which our *Journal* cost us last year, which is in any event £100 less than the year before, so we have been able to reduce that somewhat.

The Library account, which during the last two or three years we have only been able to allow at £70, is down to £65 because in the previous year the £70 was overspent by £5, so that equalizes it.

When we examine the Sundry Expenses we find that our teas have cost us a little less, lectures more—there are two special lectures included, both of which are mentioned in the Report. Under the general expenditure of £57 as against £52, is included £11 for a new typewriter, which was badly wanted.

To sum up, the ordinary receipts last year were £2,711 5*s*. 6*d*., and the payments, after including the £12 4*s*. 7*d*. debit brought forward, and deducting the balance of £129 brought forward, are £2,669 19*s*. 9*d*., considerably less than the expenses of the year before. Hence our real credit balance at the end of last year was about £41, but if we take into account the £180 owing for the October *Journal* the real position as between receipts and payments is, as I have said, a debit of £150. That is the general statement of last year's accounts.

For the rest you will find in the Report all the other items of importance which I need not here reiterate, namely as regards the numbers of members, the *Journal*, why the cost of this has decreased, the Library, and so on.

The prospects for the current year seem to be a little better. We started the year a little better, and are rather maintaining that, and may therefore wind up on the more hopeful note and exclaim "Now is the winter of our discontent" beginning to dissolve under what we hope is the springtime of the melting ice of our frozen subscriptions.

Before I sit down let me once more give a word of thanks to Mrs. Davis for all the help which she has unreservedly given me throughout the course of the year.

President: I am grateful to Mr. Perowne for the trouble

which he takes over our financial affairs, and I feel it is a great pleasure to him to be rather more cheerful on the subject than he has been in recent years.

I will now ask Mr. le May to propose the adoption of the Report.

DR. LE MAY: Mr. President, I assume that everybody has read the Report, and there is not much to comment on from my point of view.

We have had a good many lectures of interest, but on the whole it has been a quiet year up to the time of the Coronation and receptions. If I may say so for myself coming from the Far East, I should like to see more interest given by the Society to Far Eastern affairs. It may be a little invidious to say so, but it seems to me that great interest is taken in India, Egypt and Arabia, and I should like to see, if possible, more interest taken in the Far East. Of course, we have the China Society and the Japan Society to contend with, but I should like to see some effort made on the part of members to induce more people to join who are interested in China and Chinese affairs, Japanese, Burmese, Siamese, and Javanese affairs. It occurs to me, on looking through our list of members, that we have not enough support from the Far East. I hope my own associations with it do not colour my thoughts unduly, but I do feel that, and I think the Society would gain in many respects if we could induce more members to join from the Far East.

As regards our *Journal* I am frankly a heretic, and almost, indeed, a Bolshevik. I feel that something must be done to try and make it more interesting—and I use the word "interesting" here particularly—to our non-resident members. Of course, it is the old vicious circle—a question of expense: if you enlarge it or if you use photographic material, it becomes more expensive to produce, but I do feel myself that there are so many of our members who are non-resident—and I have lived abroad myself for many years—and as the only contact with the Society is through the *Journal* it is very difficult for a man who is living, shall we

say, in China, India, or Burma, to find a sufficient amount of interest in very abstruse and scholarly papers on subjects of which he has no knowledge—I won't say no interest, but no knowledge at all. I have no desire myself to lower the standard of the *Journal*: I do not think we ought to do that. Is it not possible for us to try and enlarge the scope of it and also to make it more up to date, as one might say? I once made the remark that I personally did not like its format: I was then told that it was a hundred years old, and I said that perhaps that was the reason why I did not like the format. I know I am speaking in a Bolshevistic way to many of our members, but I must say what I feel. We, the Society, are now, I think, at rather a critical period of our existence, and we have so many competitors even here in London itself. It seems to me that we must take some very important steps to try and show that we are up to date. It is not a question, to my mind, of lowering our standard, but of being up-to-date (we have, I believe, nearly 500 non-resident members) and I feel we can only do that through the medium of our *Journal*; even if we have to spend much more money than we do to-day, I believe we could make it of much greater interest to many of our members outside.

As regards the meetings of the Society they have proved of great interest to all of us, and I personally find them very instructive. We have had a number of speakers from many countries and in that way I think we do here, as far as we possibly can, fulfil our functions, but that only applies to our resident members, who can come and visit this building. It does not really touch the heart of our problem.

And with that I should like to propose the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts for 1937.

PRESIDENT: I will now call upon Sir Arnold Wilson to second the adoption of the Report and Accounts.

SIR ARNOLD WILSON: Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I have very much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report and the Accounts.

I am tempted to indulge in a controversy with Mr. le May on the respective values of high scholarship and the more popular items which he would like to include in our programme, but this is not the moment. As to the format of the *Journal*, its size is that of the Proceedings of a number of learned Societies and is almost ideal, in the interests of shelf-space and legibility, and when I was investigating the question of scientific societies and their journals a few years ago the Royal Asiatic Society approached very nearly to the optimum standards laid down by a former inquiry into the legibility of print. (Here it was asked if this remark applied also to photographic material, and Sir Arnold replied that he could not deal with this point without notice.) I am no scholar. I can think of no learned journal from which I get better value. To be brought to realize the great depths of one's own ignorance and the vast erudition of others is, in itself, an education.

There is much that we should all like to see published regarding the lands of which we have special knowledge, but our *Journal* remains the only one of interest in this country in which it is possible to publish the results of scholarship, and I hope that its high standard will be maintained.

I agree entirely with Mr. le May that more attention should be paid to the problems of the Far East. They are fundamental to our civilization; China and Japan, like India, have something to teach us as well as we to learn from them. I should like to see Asia regarded as being in some sense a unity and deserving of far more intensive study than we have yet seen fit to give to it.

I had hoped, not many years ago, that it might be possible to raise funds to enable the Royal Asiatic Society to establish itself in larger premises, joining in the occupation of one building, with some of the other learned societies which have common objects, and I am not without hope that that may one day happen. We should have far more support from commercial firms in the Far East than we are getting at present.

It is our duty to maintain the Society as a living growth and influence. The part that England and, indeed, Europe will have to play in Asia during the next hundred years will, in my view, be more nearly related to the conception of scholarship and scientific knowledge than of administrative capacity. Executive activities will be more and more transferred to the nationalist hands, but scholarship will, for many a long year, be our prerogative; and it is in many quarters a very great influence, as I know by experience in Persia and in Arabia. Politicians respect and admire scholarship, even when they do not understand it. They realize it to be something of permanent value, and the very detachment of a scholar from the pretty controversies and current emergencies gives him a certain standing, and I believe that the Council of Foreign Relations, of which Lord Eustace Percy is the head would do well to make far more use of our scholars if it wished to create a favourable impression abroad. I have a vivid recollection of the visit of your President to Baghdad immediately after the War, and of the impression caused amongst the Arabian notables of Baghdad by the arrival from England of one who knew their literature, their language, their classical language, better than most of them, and who studied modern problems *sub specie aeternitatis*—from a detached standpoint which they envied even though they could not follow it. There was very real fruit from Professor Margoliouth's visit to Baghdad, and I have seen similar results from the visits of other scholars to countries which they have seldom visited but have long studied.

We all wish this Society a prosperous year and a future yet greater than its past. We have here one of the most valuable instruments for the promotion of fundamental understanding and of good will that any nation possesses. We know what use the French and the Germans make of their own cultural institutions. Let us hope that we may, in the future, make far more use of this, the most influential of our own cultural bonds with Asiatic peoples.

The Report was then adopted and the recommendation accepted for the election of a President, the re-election of the honorary officers, the filling of vacancies on the Council and the appointment of auditors for the ensuing session.

THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and Gentlemen, sixteen years ago, on the death of Lord Reay, who had been our President for twenty-eight years, during which he had given us the advantage of his experience, his wisdom and his wide acquaintance with men and things, and whose qualifications for such a post were attested by his being selected to be the first President of the British Academy, founded in 1901, it was decided to follow the example of some other institutions and limit the tenure of the Presidency to a term of years. Ours, which is three years, is somewhat longer than that of the Royal Geographical Society, which is only two. We believed that the change was in the interest of the Society and of the Presidents. The office is not a sinecure: during my tenure of it I have expected every morning's post to bring me a communication from one of the permanent officers requiring an answer. *It seemed to us that it would be easier to get* suitable persons to undertake it if they could regard the office as temporary rather than as permanent. And further there would be more opportunity for the introduction of new ideas and the trial of experiments. Those forecasts have been realized by all who have occupied the post between the death of Lord Reay and my own occupation of it.

My term of three years is now concluded, and I wish to express my gratitude to many persons. First to the Society itself for letting my name appear in a list which contains those of men distinguished for services to Oriental Literature or to the state in connection with its Oriental possessions, or to both. A list which contains such names as those of Horace Hayman Wilson, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir William Muir, Sir Bartle Frere, is one to which admission resembles election to a very exclusive club. Next, I may in the name of the Council and of the Society thank Lord Hailey for accepting

the succession. Our connection with India is so close and our Indian membership so large that no more suitable head of the Society could be found than one who has he'd h gh office in that country and, indeed, been governor of more than one of its provinces.

I have next to express my personal gratitude to those on whose counsel I have had to rely, in the first place two of our number, the hon. secretary, Mr. Oldham, and the Director, Sir E. D. Ross. The latter is retiring from his headship of the School of Oriental Studies, to be succeeded by another member of our Council, Professor Turner. The statesmanly gift of selecting the right men for posts was never more felicitously displayed than when Sir Denison Ross was chosen for the first principal of that institution. Only a man combining, as he does, extraordinary linguistic gifts with no less extraordinary skill in administration, could have made of that School the success which he has achieved. We will wish him many years of well-earned leisure, which will doubtless be employed in no less distinguished service than that which he has rendered during the busy years of his headship.

One other person to whose advice I had frequently to resort is no longer with us. Events that were unforeseen when I accepted the Presidency were the death of the patron of the Society, King George V, the accession and abdication of his successor, and the accession of the sovereign whose Coronation we are still celebrating. For the etiquette to be observed in the attitude of the President towards the Royal Patron of the Society I solicited the guidance of Sir Percy Cox, then President of the Royal Geographical Society. In furnishing that guidance he exhibited a quality emphasized in the obituary notice of him in *The Times*. His answers to questions were invariably based on accurate ascertainment of what was correct. By his death the country has lost one of the most gifted and one of the most meritorious of her public servants.

One of the very gravest that our Society could sustain occurred only yesterday, that of a man who has rendered

long, manifold, and important service to us, who might well have looked forward to many more years of scientific activity, and who since he joined the staff of Oxford University in 1908 has been an intimate and valued friend of my own. The sudden death of Stephen Langdon communicated to me by telephone yesterday evening will be deplored here and in the United States, in the countries of the European continent, in Iraq and elsewhere, as that of a master of the cuneiform languages and of Semitic philology. In him Oxford loses one of its most successful and original researchers, an indefatigable worker, a planner of great enterprises and a pioneer.

This brings me to say a word about the losses which our own Society has sustained during the year. Our Report rightly places at the beginning of its list the name of Sir James Stewart Lockhart, whose practical acquaintance with the Far East was of great value to our deliberations, and who also held the by no means easy post of Honorary Secretary. Among the members whom we miss, two were personal friends of my own—Professor Gottheil, of New York, well known for his contributions to Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic philology, and our Honorary Member, Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje, of Leiden, unquestionably the leader of Islamic studies in Europe. Dr. Winternitz was also known to me personally, having spent some time in Oxford, among whose many services to Oriental literature was his elaborate Index to the Oxford series called Sacred Books of the East. Of Honorary Members we may quote Vergil's well-known lines.

Primo avulso non deficit alter
Aureus et simili frondescit virga metallo.

The gentlemen who have accepted honorary membership in lieu of those whom we have lost will add no less lustre to our Society than their predecessors.

Among features of the past three years on which we congratulate ourselves are the interest and co-operation which Ministers of Oriental states have taken in our activities. This was notably the case in the Mutanabbi celebrations, wherein

this Society and the Poetry Society were summoned to co-operate with the representatives of the governments of Egypt, Iraq and Sa'udiyah Arabia. It was not long since the Iranian Minister gave us his assistance with the millenary celebration of Firdausi.

For the success of both the reception in honour of Mutanabbi and that which took place on the sixth of this month when we were gratified by the presence of the Secretary of State for India, a former President of this Society, and large numbers of distinguished visitors from the Oriental sections of the British Commonwealth of Nations, we were greatly indebted to the efforts of our Secretary, Colonel Hoysted, and our Assistant Secretary, Mrs. Davis. Thanks are also due to Professor Yetts, who designed and provided the invitation card, and to the Committee of Invitation, Sir E. D. Ross, Mr. Oldham, and Sir E. Maclagan. Without their special knowledge we might have been bewildered.

Something must be said about the financial condition of the Society as described by the Honorary Treasurer, to whom we owe so much for the care and thought which he bestows on our incomings and outgoings, and the firmness with which he resists all projects which savour of extravagance. His report is less pessimistic than I had feared: but as it is still somewhat gloomy I will base my attempts at consolation on classical models. Most treatises of consolation find the most copious source of comfort in showing that other people are worse off. Hence it may soothe us to be told that whereas our membership totals 732, that of the Société Asiatique of Paris, according to the latest figures at my disposal, those for 1935, totals 410, not much more than half. Their income for that year came to 75,000 francs, about £1,000 at the time, with expenditure 81,000 francs. The German Oriental Society publishes no annual list of members; but whereas its receipts for 1929 were 60,314 RM., those for 1930 were 35,396 RM., and those for 1935, the last to which I have access, 20,821 RM. During these six years the income of that Society according to

these figures was reduced by two-thirds. Ours, which in 1929 was 4,220, and is now 2,881, shows a reduction of not more than one-third.

Both these Societies suffer from the same disadvantages as render recruiting difficult in our case. (1) Our principles prevent us from being popular; the *Journal Asiatique* is somewhat more technical than our own. (2) Owing to the variety of the subjects with which we deal, much of each number of the *Journal* is of little interest to whole groups of our members; the time when an Orientalist could, like Francis Bacon, take all knowledge for his department is long past. (3) There are competitors, whom perhaps we should rather call colleagues, both in this country and abroad, who draw away possible members of our Societies. The second of these ought to be less serious than the others. It ought not to be hard to convince those who complain of only a moderate amount of the space in our *Journal* being given to their special subject that only by joining forces can we maintain an organ for the advancement of Oriental learning at all.

The chief reason for the financial strain is, however, a matter over which we have no control, again a commonplace of those who write letters of consolation. Our numbers have not fallen off since pre-War times, when we were prosperous; in the Report for 1913 when the *Journal* was of 1,200 pages, the membership was 646 against the present total 732, and the income £2,561 against the present £2,881. On the other hand, both have fallen off seriously since 1930 when the former was 968 and the latter £4,220. Doubtless the financial crisis, which dates from that period, and the rise in prices are responsible for the decline.

Hence we have had to send round the hat; and whether it will return laden with a golden or even what is euphemistically called a silver collection cannot be forecast, though I fear that hearts are hardened by the number of appeals of all sorts issued which the post brings each morning with the regularity of the daily newspaper. Hence we must increase our efforts

to attract new members and, in doing so, can emphasize what we have pointed out in our leaflet, viz. that several of our activities are calculated to be useful to persons who have no time or taste to become Orientalists in the stricter sense. In our Report we have expressed our appreciation of the service rendered us by Professor Yetts and Dr. Margaret Smith in swelling the list of our Library members; and I will conclude with the hope that next year's figures may show a turn in the right direction, and that lost ground has been more than recovered.

Burton Memorial Medal and Lecture

Richard Burton

The Burton Memorial Lecture was delivered on 27th May, 1937, before the Society, at 74 Grosvenor Street, S.W. 1, by Lieut.-Col. Sir Arnold Wilson, to whom the Society's Burton Memorial Medal was presented by Mr. Bertram Thomas.

In presenting the medal,

Mr. Bertram Thomas said that while it would be an honour for anyone to present the Burton Memorial Medal of the Royal Asiatic Society to such a distinguished man as Sir Arnold Wilson, for the speaker it was more. He had, as a young man, had the privilege of serving in the Middle East under Sir Arnold, and he quickly came to have the greatest admiration for him. That admiration was shared by every young officer who came under the same good influence. Sir Arnold was an inspiration to youth. He had those qualities, common to most big men, which inspired confidence and respect, loyalty and devotion. But it would show a want of proportion, in the speaker, to enlarge, before so learned an audience, upon Sir Arnold's gifts of mind and spirit—these were common knowledge. It was more fitting on the day on which they were commemorating that adventurous spirit, Richard Burton, that he should touch on one or two of Sir Arnold's own adventures as a young man.

Lieutenant Wilson, as a young subaltern living on his pay, made his way home on his first leave, travelling as cheaply as he could from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian. A more historic trip was to follow when, as Boundary Commissioner, he passed from Fao to Ararat and thence to London by way of Archangel, for the great War had broken out. He had earned the MacGregor Medal for exploration and the C.M.G. —of which he was for some years the youngest recipient—in his travels in the wildest parts of Persia. He returned to Basrah in 1914 to take part in the Mesopotamian campaign. Mr. Thomas recounted some of Captain Wilson's thrilling experiences as a ground scout with the small but gallant force that fought and won its way through the Euphrates marshes, and quoted from *Loyalties* and *A Clash of Loyalties*, Sir Arnold's two classic volumes which covered the whole of that great and terrible episode in our military history.

The speaker concluded with the opinion that of one thing they could all be quite sure, and that was that Sir Richard Burton would have been proud in the man that their Society delighted to honour, in his name, that day.

Sir Arnold Wilson, having expressed his appreciation of the honour thus conferred on him by the Society and of the language used by Mr. Bertram Thomas who, both in exploration and in scholarship, had far outstripped all his tutors of his early days in the Services, proceeded to give a summary of his address, which has been printed in full.[1] He had obtained, he said, from the Public Record Office, copies of two hitherto unpublished documents of interest to Arabists—Burton's account of the departure of the Mecca Caravan from Damascus in 1870 and 1871, which would be found annexed to his address, as also a despatch of the greatest interest from Fernando Po, in which Burton gave a vivid account of conditions as he found them on the Gold Coast. Burton, he said, was one of the most proficient linguists born

[1] Oxford University Press, 2s.

in this country of whom we have authentic records. His works of travel number over fourscore, and cover four continents, ranging from India and Arabia to East and West Africa, and from South America to Italy. His translations include the Lusiads of Camoens, some of the fairy tales of India, and *erotica* of Arabia. "His rendering of Camoens was a masterly performance, abounding with the most recondite and learned annotations. His literal translation of *The Arabian Nights* is the work of an accomplished Eastern scholar who could treat the curious questions suggested by these stories . . . with the frankness, and some of the recklessness, of science." He was a classical scholar, a competent archæologist, and an observer with a passion for accuracy. In Arabia and Africa he could, with complete success, disguise his appearance, but not his opinions of his superiors or of the world in which he lived. Only once was his claim to be a *bona-fide* traveller contested—by a barmaid at the Zoo. His worth as a close and accurate observer of men and of women, wherever he was, is well established, but the soundness of his judgments and the value of his work was not always appraised at its full worth by his countrymen or by officials whose vision, like that of the barmaid, was limited by the nature of their office, and their confidence in humanity more undermined than that of most barmaids by constant preoccupation with a routine which brought them into contact, even by correspondence, with few men of his calibre.

Richard Burton was honoured by no university and, until he turned to translations of Oriental *erotica*, his immense literary output attracted comparatively little attention outside a small circle. His object was neither fame nor money, but an honourable desire to place fully on record all he knew and could discover upon any subject which interested him. His interests were as varied as the countries in which he dwelt, as an official of the Government of India, and, later, as a Consul. Those who followed in his footsteps had borne witness to his conscientious adherence to geographical truth.

His career as an explorer began in 1852, when he undertook, in the disguise of a Pathan, his famous journey to Medina and Mecca. His life henceforth, until he settled down as Consul at Trieste, was an almost uninterrupted series of exploring expeditions. He never lost touch with the results of Eastern scholarship, and was a member of this Society from 1860 till his death in 1890. Soon after his marriage to Isabel, of the family of Arundell of Wardour, he was sent, in August, 1861, *as Consul to Fernando Po, on the West Coast* of Africa, then notorious as "the Foreign Office grave". The town consisted largely of mat-huts. There was no Consulate building, the Treasury having refused to incur the expense of erecting one, finding it cheaper, we may presume, to send fairly senior men there and let them die. Burton's predecessor had erected in 1856 a single-storey bungalow of wood and mats which, when Burton arrived, was uninhabitable. His application to spend £322 in repairing it can be seen in the Public Record Office. On the back are the brief official minutes of his official superiors.

I

Is there any precedent for this in Fernando Po?

II.

No.

He was accordingly told that Government would incur no expense on erecting a building: he could rent a residence and an office in the town.

He was not encouraged to explore. His application for surveying instruments made shortly after his arrival at his post, was endorsed as follows at the Foreign Office:—

I

Is there any precedent?

II

No; I think it objectionable that our Consuls should be furnished with such things.

He was instructed accordingly!

His *Wit and Wisdom from W. Africa* merits republication

to-day: it includes some 2,268 proverbs and idioms, in the Wolof, Kanuri, Oji and Fan tongues, and the Ga, or Accra, Yoruba and Efik languages, throwing much light on contemporary habits and superstitions, and is as valuable in its way as *Roebuck's Oriental Proverbs,* which equally deserves such immortality as a reprint can afford. He had no desire to administer, but rather to guide, Eastern and African people, and foretold accurately much that has come to pass in the social and political development of certain Eastern nations.

His translation of the *1,001 Nights,* published in 1885, gave him a chance of placing on record what he knew upon many subjects, and it brought in money which was an absolute necessity. The demand for it surprised him. The technical excellence of his translation is undisputed: to the value to scholars and psychiatrists of his learned notes all workers in this field have testified. He described it as a work of scholarship published in order that the rulers of the East should understand the mainsprings of Eastern life. Were such a work to be published to-day it would arouse less shocked comment, and perhaps be more widely read.

"March at the head of the ideas of your time," wrote Louis Napoleon from the prison of Ham, in 1841, "and they will follow and sustain you. Follow them and they will carry you along. Oppose them and they will crush you." Burton opposed the ideas of his time. In some respects he was better fitted for official life in the present day, when his ideals of indirect rule are being rediscovered. But we may say of him with confidence, as Firdausi says of himself in the concluding couplets of the *Shah Namah*:—

All men of prudence, faith and rede shall give
Applause to me, when I have ceased to live,
But live I shall, for seeds of words have I
Flung broadcast, and, henceforth I shall not die.

Notices

Forthcoming Events

December 1937.—At Trivandrum, the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference will meet under the patronage of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.

We offer our congratulations to Professor D. S. Margoliouth, our Director, who has recently been elected an Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society.

On 24th June the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, P.C., Kt., LL.D., made an announcement in connection with a very generous gift to our library from H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. In commemoration of his Silver Jubilee, His Exalted Highness has signified his desire to present to the Society a set of the Arabic and Persian books published by the Da'irat al-Ma'arif, under his direction. Lord Hailey, the President of the Society, in accepting the gift, desired Sir Akbar Hydari to convey to His Exalted Highness the very grateful thanks of the Society for his munificent bequest.

On account of the summer vacation, it would be greatly appreciated if correspondence could be reduced to a minimum during the months of August and September.

Members and subscribing libraries are reminded that by Rule 24 the annual subscriptions for the coming year are due on 1st January, without application from the Society. A great saving would be effected if all members would kindly comply with this rule.

Students are requested to note that the Students' Room of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities on the upper floor of the British Museum opened on Monday,

10th May, 1937, and is now available, with the exception of the usual holidays, for the use of students of Egyptian papyri and Assyrian and Babylonian tablets. Other classes of written documents and the archæological material will be made available as the rearrangement of the collections is completed.

Students who desire to continue their use of the room should renew their tickets immediately, and are requested to give notice of their requirements before presenting themselves.

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Series

The first period during which MSS. may be submitted by competitors for publication in the above series, lately founded by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, of Calcutta, will close on 31st December, 1938. Details are given in the loose sheet enclosed in this number of the *Journal.* They may also be obtained on application to: The Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.

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The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts. Vol. lxxxv, No. 4405, 23rd April, 1937.

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The Geographical Journal. Vol. lxxxix, No. 4, April, 1937.

Teichman, Sir E. The Motor Route from Peking to Kashgar.

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Cotton, Sir E. A Forgotten Sea-Fight in the "Bengal River".
Hobbs, H. Scraps of Fort William Regimental History.
Chatterjee, N. Shamsuddaulah's Intrigues against the English.
Jones, Mrs. R E. B. Through the Santhal Rising, 1855–6.
Bullock, H. More Monumental Inscriptions.

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Heras, Fr. H. Two Proto-Indian Inscriptions from Chānhu Daro.

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Duarte, A. Piracy in the Western Seas in the Reign of Aurangzeb.
Goetz, H. Life and Art in the Mughal Period.

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Diskalkar, D. B. James Grant Duff's Private Correspondence with Maharaja Pratapsimha of Satara.
Moreland, W. H. Zat Rank in the Mogul Empire.

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Przyluski, J. Asses, Horses, and Gandharvas.
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Heras, Fr. H. Mohenjo Daro—The People and the Land.
Berriedale Keith, A. The Aśvins and the Great Goddess.
Bose, S. K. A Fresh Hoard of so-called Puri Kushan Coins.
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Rosenthal, E. Pandua and Gaur: Wonder Cities of old Bengal.

No. 8, May, 1937.

Theophilus. Detective Archæology. (Identification of Kanishka's Stupa near Peshawur and the finding of a relic casket therein.)

Indian Art and Letters. Vol. xi, No. 1, first issue for 1937.

Yazdani, G. The Rock-hewn Temples of Aurangabad: Their Sculpture and Architecture.
Sastri, H. The Archæological Department in Baroda.
Paranavitana, S. Recent Archæological Work in Ceylon.

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PART IV.—OCTOBER

Shafta d Pishra d Ainia

(A MANDÆAN MAGICAL TEXT

TRANSLATED AND TRANSLITERATED BY E. S. DROWER)

Marai mshaba. Bliba dakia blishania bpuma tushbihta.
Kushṭa asinkhun

TRANSLITERATION

ࡀ = A.
ࡁ = B.
ࡂ = G or Gh.
ࡃ = D or Dh.
ࡄ = H (hard and soft).
ࡅ = W, U, or V.
ࡆ = Z
ࡇ = (a final possessive 3rd person termination) h.
ࡈ = Ṭ.
ࡉ = Y or I.
ࡊ = K or Kh.
ࡋ = L.
ࡌ = M.
ࡍ = N.
ࡎ = S.

ࡏ = 'Ain. But in Mandæan never guttural, and can replace "a". Followed by "u" or "i" it takes on the long "ū" or "ī" sound.

ࡐ = P.

ࡑ = Ṣ.

ࡒ = Q.

ࡓ = R.

ࡔ = S̲h̲.

ࡕ = T or T̲h̲.

ࡖ = Ad, or Ed The possessive particle and relative particle d̲.

ࡀ = A.

ࡗ = Kt̲h̲ i e. "like" or "as".

Bs̲h̲umaihun d̲ hiia rbia qadmaiia nuk̲h̲raia mn almia d̲ nhura yatiria d̲ 'lawia kulhun 'ubadia asut̲h̲a uzakut̲h̲a hat̲h̲amta uzarazta unaṭarta rabtia d̲ s̲h̲arara nhuilia ldilia Plan br Plana uzawai ubnai ubnat̲h̲ai udaurai hik̲h̲lai ukulh̲ binianai mn hiia umn Manda d̲ hiia asia maraihun d̲ kulhun asawat̲h̲a 'zha u'tazha aina bis̲h̲ta ukabihta waina zruqtia waina bruqtia waina kbis̲h̲tia waina qliqtia waina 'kiltia kt̲h̲ abun Bil nsib mia urmh̲ lris̲h̲ia qirib rma 'l kwakiat̲h̲a unsab tag̲h̲a wathnh̲ bris̲h̲ia uzaina tla 'l kadfh̲ huṭra d̲ mura b'dh̲ (*or b'adia*) am qarbala (?) lauma kulh̲ bgumra[1] tag̲h̲a nad unfal mn ris̲h̲ia uzaina nfal mn kadfh̲ hutra d̲ mura nfal mn 'dh̲ uris̲h̲ia ṣmar ubarsa nfal gibta d̲ gaubat 'lh̲ usilqit [*sic*] s̲h̲gibun [*sic*] bs̲h̲uba s̲h̲ibiahia kt̲h̲ tag̲h̲aiun traṣlun bris̲h̲aihun uzaina tlilia lkadfaiun huṭra d̲ mura nfal mn 'daihun umdabrania lalma kulh̲ bgumura huṭra d̲ mura nfal mn 'daihun uris̲h̲aihun ṣmar ubarsa nfal gibta d̲ gabat 'lh̲ usilqit [*sic*] upagibun [*sic*] byama kt̲h̲ mlia mia wazlia mia bgauh̲ warbita piria u'nbia u'lania d̲ 'lawia rauzia wamarat kma s̲h̲apiria yama us̲h̲apiria d̲ masgin bgauh̲ d̲ 'bdit piria u'nbia u'lania d̲ 'lawih̲ rauzia wamarat

[1] Later on (p. 2) "umdabrh̲ lalma kulh̲ bgumra".

kma shapiria yama ushapiria d masgin bgauh d rbita piria u'nbia u'lania d 'lawih ṣba gibta d gabat 'lawaihun usilqat pagibun baqnia d hush raiia ushapir bnaiun ubnathun ushapiria baqaria d masgin abathraiun aqnia lgaṭ pumaiun mn miria ubnaiun lgaṭ pumaiun mn mimaṣ waramatha la masgin abathraiun gubta d gaubat 'lawaihun usilqat pagibun btauria d pirun malka d miṣraiia wamrat kma shapiria tauria d pirun malka d miṣraiia shapiria ubnaiun ubnathun ushapiria baqaria d masgin abathraiun tauria lgaṭ pumaiun mn miriai ubnaiun lgaṭ pumaiun mn mimaṣ ubaqaria tkalal unfil lknaf tauraiun usilqat shkitun ubkitun udnitun 'l qudam hiia rbia qadmaiia hash hiia uprash hiia u'tafrash hiia kth yatbia bathra kasia bshkhinathun ubziwa rba dilun d nafshaiun ubanhura rba kabira wamar hazin qala d man mn tibil qala rama d mn 'ubdunia titaiia d hshukha umn mia siawia 'siria gmiṭia unsisia mahl d nimarlun maraihun d nafshaihun ya yaduiia d yaditun 'l mahu mshailitun hazin qala d aina bishta ukawihta umarirtia d baqat usilqat mn 'umqia d yama umn taum taumia titaiia d hshukha umn mia siawia hṭima hatam mkairia bruhia unishmatha d bnat anasha washkath 'l P. br P. umhath urmath bhana d 'mh lgaṭ ainh mn mihzia upumh mn mikal u'dh mn mibad ulighrh mn masguiia hash hiia uprash hiia u'tafrash hiia kth yatbia bshkhinathun bziwa rba dilun d nafshaihun banhura rba ukabira uqiriuia lman d asia wamarulh qum nsub shaba mkadfia d parzla ushaba silwania mn shaba talia d ziqla ziburia ushuba shibia mn shuba rishia nhuth 'l 'umqia d yamia ulyama d 'isiria hṭimia gmiṭia nsisia lughṭuia 'l aina bishta ukawihta umarirtia d mhata 'l P. br P. umihuia bakla rba d ziwa ubnarga rba d shiriatha ubgurmaiza d nura bshaba mkadfai d parzla ushuba salawatha mn shuba talia d ziqla ziburia ushuba shibia mn shuba rishia unhuth ulghuṭia 'l aina bishta ukawihta baufia rishia bsbasia d himiania bshahfia d shifula titaiia d lighrh urumuih bit zban uladan dukta d dudia uṭafan lglala urahta aina bishta u'kilta utinihta utimalil utimarlh kabra d kabralh mn 'nisha asia d nithia gabra d la hash ulahshukh ulaprash

wamar bminiltakh mishtaiina bpra manakh d nisab mia mn pum frash ziwa umisha br shushma hiwara umihla pth pshar gufna umihla ṣatra ṣita ushmaiia umia mn yardna rba d mia hiia wadkhar hazin pugdama 'lh ushuph bpaghra d P. br P. utipshar utifuq minh aina bishta ukawihta umarirtia waina zruqtia waina bruqtia waina kbishtia wama qliqtia kth shamish b'shumia ukth ziqa banania ukth ṣifra gadfa d pashar unafiq mn qinh ukth tata d pashra unafqa mn dibnh ukth mihla d pashra unafqa bmia ukth hiuta d pashra unafqa d barqa bmunilta d qarh wamarlia 'zil hazin shutha adkharlh 'l bil ab d nisab taghh unitriṣ brishia unisab zainh unitlia bkadfh huṭra d mura nilguiṭ b'dh unidabrh lalma kulh bgumra wamarlh 'zil hazin shutha adkharlun 'l shuba shibiahia uninisbun taghaiun unitirṣnun brishaiun uninisbun zainaiun unitlun bkadfaiun huṭra d mura niligṭun b'daihun unidabrunh lalma kulh bgumra 'zil hazin shutha adkharlh lyama kth mlia mia ununia udilfunia nasgun bgauh d 'rbita piria u'mbia u'lania 'lawh niriuzun 'zil hazin shutha adkharlh laqna d hush raiia aqna nishtria pumaiun lmiria ubnaiun nishtria lmimaṣ waramatha nasgun abathraiun 'zil hazin shutha adkhar ltaura d *pirun malka* d *miṣraiia* tauria nishtria pumaihun lmaria [*sic*] ubnaiun nishtria pumaiun lmimaṣ ubaqaria nasgun abathraiun 'zil hazin shutha adkharlh 'l P. br P. d tipshar utifuq minh aina bishta ukawihta waina zruqtia waina bruqtia waina 'kumtia kth shamish bshumia ukth ziqa banania ukth sifar gadfa d pashar unafiq mn qinh ukth tata d pashra unafqa mn dibnh ukth mihla d pashra unafqa bmia wasutha tihulia 'l P. br P. uzawh ubnh ubnathh udaurh hiklh ubinianh basutha d *manda* d *hiia* asia wamar aina d abuk bsana waina d shibabia bishia bibnaiun waina d azla waina d athia waina d rahiqia waina d qaribia waina d dardiqunia waina d dirdiqunjatha waina d zanai waina d zamar waina d kulh tibil waina d *mhata* 'l P. br P. ninisbh 'urba unisaq ldiqla lihdaia nitib lgidma uniparta bi prata d parit minh nandia bnandia minh nafil baqnia d tauria nidrikhubh utata nidrikhubh utitin utitbahat utibṭul

aina bighta ukawihta mn paghra d P. br P. kth 'ntha d yatba aqama ham uhamath wartat ubihtat akwath aqar unhut anat aina bishta d mahialh 'l P. br P. umshabin hiia

. . . .

Bshumaihun d hiia rbia asutha tihuilia 'l P. br P. hda d aina utartin d ainia uthalth d ainai warbia d ainia hamish d ainia ushit d ainia ushuba d ainia waina zruqtia waina mṣuṣtia waina qliqtia waina hamranita waina 'kiltia waina d azla waina d athia waina d qaima waina d yatba waina d rahiqia waina d qaribia waina d zanai waina d zamar waina d 'l aramatha yatba waina d 'l rqiha rmiia 'lia d 'l azlit anat aina d 'usfar uniwal hawit 'l ahia azlit ahia mn hdadia gatlit 'u 'l 'umamatha azlit 'umamatha mn hdadia parshit aqruq mn baitha upaghra d P. br P. miqar ziqla mn bagha urigluk mirgal qaina lburia utiriukh mitria baitha mn glala kibshukh mikbash libna bbiniana uṭibukh abara birbita arbikukh ushiriukh 'l kifia d prat udiglat arbikikh almana bzaina uparasha bqashth urashikh raiia baqnih ubaqara btaurih usab sida bimsana unisbikh aria 'l bnh udiba 'l shitlh ṣifra lqinh uṣarṭana 'lniqubh unisbuia 'l aina bishta ukawihta d mhata 'l P. br P. utipshar utifuq minh kth mihla d pashra unafqa bmia ukth hufia mn puma d kasa ukth hamra mn puma d shataia ukth shinta mn aina d shakhiba ninisbh 'urba unisaq 'l ziqla unishifth bsilwa sharira 'kisit umakisit anat aina bishta ukawihta d mhata d (? 'l) P. br P. utipshar utifuq minh kth mihla d pashra unafqa bmiia 'kisit umakisit anat aina bishta ukawihta d mhata 'l P. br P. aqar ṣuhuṣ ubhut u'tbal uniramia 'kurikh umiia qariria umshabin hiia . . . .

Abgan shuma rba wabgan mimra rba qadmaiia 'l aina shgishtia u'l aina mristia u'l aina qliqtia 'l aina zruqtia u'l aina hamranita u'laina d yatba 'l qiqilta u'laina d aila baitha unafqa baitha u'l aina d ṣaida d sliq mn agma u'l aina d raiia d sliq mn aqna aina d hismat waina d rabat 'tbarat kth pilqa wawadt u'thambalt kth 'urnasa wamralh kth lau aina hasumtia ulau raiubtia ana 'dilma aina hasumtia raiubtia qiritulia wamarlh hazin d la haisit hazin d la raibit d athit

upagatbh bhikla d bit malka ushurba *rba* d *gubria rurbania* baina mhitainun u'l 'uhrikh 'tkamart hikla d bit malka nfal ushurba rba d gubria rurbania 'tbarat shahbia ṣardia d bgawaihun aina hasumtia waina raiubtia 'tbarat kth pilqa wawadt w'thambalt kth 'urnasa wamralh kth lau aina *hasumtia ulau aina raiubtia* ana 'dilma aina hasumtia waina raiubtia qaritulia wamarlh hazin d *lahaisit hazin* d *la raibit* d athit upagatbh bipdana d shita tauria ushita 'karia d zira ubazira barqa ramin dalit ainikh urmitibun wamart kma shapiria 'pdania ushapiria 'karia d bgawaihun baina mhitainun u'l 'uhrikh 'tkamart 'pdana [*sic*], psiq ushanziria psiq tauria rhiṭ 'lagma u'karia rhit 'l mathh zira ubazira mn arqa psaqt aina hasumtia waina raiubtia 'tbarat kth 'urnasa wamralh kth lau aina hasumtia ulau aina raiubtia ana 'dilma aina hasumtia waina raiubtia qaritulia wamarlh hazin d la haisit hazin d la raiubit d athit upagatbh bbaitha d shita ahia ushita 'umamatha d bihda baitha yatbia ubihda sala akhlin u'l hda tanura qaimin u'l hda asita mhabshin dalit ainikh urmtaibun wamart kma shapiria ahia bnia hdadia u'umamatha alwath hdadia lanaṣin baina *mhitainun* u'l 'uhrikh 'tkamart ahia 'l hdadia nfal u'umamatha 'l hdadia nfal shigsha uṭirqa rmit bnataihun aina hasumtia waina raiubtia 'tbarat kth pilqa wawadt 'thambalt kth 'urnasa wamralh kth lau aina hasumtia ulau aina raiubtia ana 'dilma aina hasumtia waina raiubtia qaritulia wamarlh hazin d la haisit hazin d laraibit d athit upagitbh bniula d arba shapiratha dalit ainikh urmitibun wamart kma shapiria shapiratha ushapiria karkuria d 'daihun baina mhitainun u'l 'uhrikh 'tkamart 'laiia 'tbar u'laiia utitaiia 'tbar shapiratha bakian ubnaiun alin shigsha uṭirqa rmit binaihun aina hasumtia waina raiubtia 'tbart kth pilqa uawadt u'thambalt kth 'urnasa bhut ufuq mn hazin paghra d P. br P. kth 'ntha 'sira d bukta nisbat 'l kadfh rmat wazlat lmimlia mia wathun upagubh ham uhamath d 'rusa 'tigid kanfh u'taram lrishh u'tgihnat uniflat bukta minh u'tibrat u'tbihtat akwath bhut unfuq anat aina bishta mn paghra d P. br P. aina d rabat 'tbarat kth pilqa

uawadat u'thambalt kth 'urnasa bhut ufuq mn hazin paghra d P. br P. umn baithh hiklh utaurh utaurathh umn kish uqinianh umshabin hiia zakhin . . . .

. . . . . Bshumaihun d hiia rbia asutha tihuilia lP. br P. 'kisa makisa ainaihun d shaba harashatha mn baitha upaghra d P. br P. mn zawh ubnh ubnathh umn hiwaniathh uqinianh wana P. br P. ainai bianhura ulighrai bishrara wana P. br P. wanatun harshia latutai wana P. br P. 'lawaikhun pshar ushria mn P. br P. bshuma d hardbi'il malakha ushria bshuma d gadfi'il malakha ushria bshuma d hamgi'il malakha pshar harshia bishia usadania 'pikia waina bishta ukawihta mn paghra d P. br P. bshum abukhun ugadfaikhun 'lawaikhun pshar ushria miniltaikhun bdardaria 'umamathkhun mn paghra d P. br P. uzawh ubnh ubnathh pshar ushria mn magalta udiuta umitraṣ triṣa 'shumia lqudamh d P. br P. umitraṣ triṣa arqa lqudamh d P. br P. wasutha tihuilia 'l P. br P. bhalin minilta d nhura hiia zakhin lkulhun 'ubadia . . . .

. . . .

Raza d hazin pugdama shrita lman d 'sir umtanaf bharshia d kdubalh 'lṭasa d anka wabara shrita tihuilia ulzibnh ulzibunh qrih lkuza d mia wazla lnafshiakh ulbaitha u'l zibnakh u'lzbunakh tum titiksia ainaihun d shaba bishia d harashatha usharir umnasai . . . .

'sira usdima 'sfar uniwal aina zruqtia 'sira usdima aina mṣuṣtia 'sira usdima aina qliqtia 'sira usdima aina 'kumtia 'sira usdima aina qdurtia 'sira usdima aina qburtia 'sira usdima aina hlultia 'sira usdima aina d 'l ṭuria qaima 'sira usdima aina d 'l aramatha yatba 'sira usdima aina d 'l rqiha rmiia 'sira usdima aina d 'l rish 'ibad umabad qaiimna ana P. br P. hlai wanatun harshia latutia wana 'lawaikhun pshiria harshia bishia usadania 'pikia pshiria harshia usdimia hrimia uksisia 'kisia umakisia umshamtia umbaṭlia zihia umazihia zimia umazimia bshuma d pashrun ziwa gabra pashura d pashar btaninia d yardna nhura hua lihshukha pishra hua lharshia sidama hua lruṭna shaina hua ushaina hawia rwaha hua urwaha hawia ṭabutha huat uṭabutha hawia unhura hua

unhura hawia sdima shqahit aina zruqtia sdimia tihuat aina mṣuṣtia sdima huat aina qliqtia sdima ṣarṣit aina 'kaltia sdima shafafit aina qburtia sdima skakit unitar aina qdurtia d 'lhinun ukarkuma adunai ṣbabuth ukrukh utabaria ushania waqur ugamar mishqal shqilta ushqilta nishqul girba u'shata mn paghra d P. br P. mibrakh brikhia umbarukhia lalam almia hiia zakhin . . . .

'sira usdima upshira umaziha aina zruqtia d shamish umṣuṣtia d libat uqliqtia d nbu u'kiltia d sin hlultia d kiwan uqburtia d bil uqdurtia d nirig waina d 'l aramatha yatba waina d 'l rqiha rm'ia waina d ananai wasutha tihuilia 'l P. br P. hiia zakhin . . . .

Raza rba para uparta qrih 'lawaihun kdub lmagalta d ṭabia utlilh bṣaura . . . .

'sira hthima umaziha shqahit aina zruqtia d shamish 'sira umaziha amamit aina mṣuṣtia d libat 'sira umaziha ṣarhit aina qliqtia d nbu 'sira umaziha ṣarṣut aina 'kiltia d sin 'sira umaziha aina hlultia d kiwan 'sira umaziha shafafit aina qburtia d bil 'sira umaziha skakit unitar aina qdurtia d nirigh sdima umaziha sam usaf raza d ananai sdim haq umaq raza d sdim kuf raza urimza uraza sdim shirsha kulh d hshukha umia siawia sdimia hrimia malkaiun mbaṭlan mhashabathun 'siritun usdimitun hthimitun umshamitun umbaṭlitun zimitun umazimitun lbar mn paghra d P. br P. bshuma d hahu rishaga qashisha nibṭul hshukha unizkia nhura d qinan d tartin usrin shurbatha d bit simiaiil saṭana nibṭul hshukha unizkhia nhura wasutha tihuilia 'l P. br P. mn hiia rbia qadmaiia umn manda d hiia hiia zakhin . . .

. . . .

. . . .

Banana rabtia d nhura yatibna ana hu hibil ziwa zadiq br athra d nhura br daura taqna br mdinat 'uthria ana u'uthria ahai bnia nhura d qaimia qudamai anush zuṭa qaiim 'l smalai ushitil qaiim lyaminai hinun ulbushaih d minai qaiminin umshabinalh lanana rabtia d nhura d minh 'tinṣibnin haizakh shaminin qala d P. br P. anasha d aina mhath ukiwihta nsabth

ulibh ata uruiana 'shtagash wana hibil ziwa zadiqa wamarnalun 'l 'uthria ahai bnia nhura d yatbia bkisia wamarnalun nhut 'l tibil arqa wasutha mindam tibidulh 'l P. br P. gabra u'ntha wamarnalun 'l bhiria zidqa gbilia bisra uzma sab hazin pugdama kdublh 'l P. br P. anasha d aina mhath ukawihta nsabth ulibh ata uruiana 'shtagash wasutha tihuilh 'l P. br P. bshuma d manda d hiia asia maraihun d asawatha hiia zakhin . . . .

The Scroll for the Exorcism of the Eyes

My Lord be Praised!

With a Pure Heart!

On my tongue and in my mouth (be) praise![1]

In the name of the Great, First, Strange[2] Life, from worlds of light abounding, which is above all (created) works; healing, purity, armed-readiness, sealing and the great security of soundness[3] shall be mine, N. son of N., and my wife's, my sons' and my daughters', and (protect) my dwelling, and the enclosed ground about it[4] and all my buildings. From the Life and from Manda d Hiia, healers, lords of all healings.

Tremble! be scared off, Evil Eye and Dimmed (or blinded) (Eye) and Blue Eye[5] and Eye with white cataract and Shut Eye and Eye with a film on it, and Corroded Eye!

When their father Bel took water and threw it on his head, advanced, threw on his teeth (?) and took a crown and set it

[1] Should be this Careless copying.

[2] *Nukraia* Mandæans translate "coming from a distance of time or space", hence "ancient". I follow Lidzbarski.

[3] *Shrara*. Soundness of body and mind. L. sometimes translates *shrara* "truth".

[4] *Hikla*. Mandæans say "the ground about the house", i.e. the compound wall. Literally "that enclosed by a boundary line drawn about it". (Cf. *hql*) Hence hall, temple, nave (of church), etc.

[5] Priests translate "eye that glances to and fro". I suspect that priests, amongst whom blue eyes are common, are biased. It is just possible (cf. P.-S. ܐܙܪܩ); however, blue eyes are commonly thought baleful

on his head, a mulberry (or pastoral) staff in his hand, with a shield on his fore-arm; all was in perfect order. . . . The crown shook and fell from his head and the armour fell from his shoulder, the mulberry staff fell from his hand, and his head was confused and he fell on his bed (by) the snare which She [1] wove upon him.

And She rose and strayed amongst the Seven Planets. When they put their crowns on their heads and hung armour on their shoulders the mulberry staff fell from their hands [2] and the Fatebringers, all of them, were in their perfection. The mulberry staff fell from their hands and their heads were confused and they fell on their couches (by) the spell which she wove upon them. And she rose ("and met", see below) them (those) in the sea (or great lake) when the water was high, and water flowed into it, and the spring herbage, fruits and grapes and trees that were by it flourished.

And she said, "How beautiful the sea is, and how beautiful are those who go about in it, of (and ?) the spring herbage, the fruits, and the trees that are by it (lit. above it) (*bis*). He thought (she thought ?) the snare which she wove upon them. And she rose and met sheep tended by shepherds, and beautiful were the lambs, male and female, and beautiful the herdsmen who followed behind them. She restrained the mouths of the sheep from the pastures and their lambs' mouths from sucking, and they [3] went not (on ?) the hills after them (the dams). A snare that she wove upon them. And she went up and met the bulls of Pharaoh, King of the Egyptians, and she said, "How beautiful are the bulls of Pharaoh, King of the Egyptians, and their calves, male and female; and beautiful are the herdsmen who walk behind them!" She withheld the mouths of the bulls from the pastures and the mouths of their calves from sucking, and the herdsmen became few and fell beside their bulls. And she rose . . . And ye were

[1] "She" is the Eye throughout.

[2] Another miscopying, as is evident from the context

[3] The lambs.

brought low and wept and were abased before the Great Life. The Life was cognizant, and understood and took counsel within itself as it sat in the Secret Place, in its abiding-place, and in the great glory which is its own, and in the mighty great light. And it spoke this saying that (it might be ?) uttered by those on earth,[1] so that from the Lower Abadon of darkness and from the black waters the bound, the oppressed and the sick spoke, and said to their own lords: "O ye who know that which ye know, wherefore did ye not silence the voice of the Evil Eye and the Blind and the Sick (Eye) that tortured (us) and rose up from the depths of the sea and from the limit of the dwellers in the nether regions of darkness and from the black waters, causing uncleanness[2] and marring the spirits and souls of the daughters of men ?"

And She found N. son of N. and struck him and threw him into the lap of his mother. She prevented his eye from seeing and his mouth from eating and his hand from doing and his legs from walking.

The Life took cognizance, and reflected and took counsel of itself as it sat in its dwelling, in its own great radiancy, in the great and mighty light, and called to him who is the healer and said (to him), "Rise, take seven iron shoulder-pieces and seven thorns (lances ?) from seven strong young palm-shoots and seven bundles-of-reeds[3] with seven heads (plumes). Descend to the depths of the seas and to the sea of those who are bound, unclean, fettered and sick. Grasp the Evil Eye and the Dimmed (Eye) and the Sore (Eye) which struck N. son of N. Strike them with a great hammer of radiance and with a great axe of exorcisms,[4] and with a mace of fire, with the seven shoulder-pieces of iron and the seven shafts of seven young palm-shoots of a strong palm-tree[5] and

[1] Obscure. Freely translated.

[2] Hifel *ṭma* "to be unclean".

[3] Lower written *s̲h̲ubia*. I think this is the *s̲h̲ebba*, modern colloquial for the reed-bundle used in the construction of reed-huts.

[4] *S̲h̲iriat̲h̲a* "rays", "exorcisms".

[5] A priest translates *ziburia* "male".

seven reed-sheaves[1] with seven heads. And descend and seize the Evil Eye and the Dim (Eye) by the hair[2] of their heads, by the tassels of their girdles, by the extreme edge of the lower hem of their legs, and cast them into the house of my time and moment,[3] the place of fetters and manacles, into captivity and supervision."

The Evil Eye and the Corroded (Eye) groans, and speaks and talks to the powerful one who afflicts her, from (to ?) the healing man who comes, the man who was untroubled, and was not gloomy[4] and said: "Thy word I speak! In thy . . . .[5] take (*nsub* ?) water from the mouth of the Light-Euphrates, and oil, child of white sesame; and salt, daughter of Melting (exorcism); a plant; and salt; wild thyme; olive oil; and wax, and water from the great yardna of living water. And pronounce this command over them, and rub them into the body of N. son of N."[6] And thou shalt be exorcised and depart from him, Evil Eye, and Dim (Eye), and Sore, and Blue Eye and Eye with Cataract, and Closed Eye, and Whitened Eye, like Shamish in the heavens, and like the wind amongst the clouds, and like a winged bird

[1] See note 3, page 599.

[2] *Aufia.* Literally "foliage". In the Diwan Abathur supernatural beings are portrayed with leaves for hair. A priest (unreliable) translates "plaits".

[3] This probably read *urumuia bzban uladan ldukth* "and throw them at my time and moment into the place", etc.

[4] i.e. the exorcist.

[5] *bpramanakh* "in thy (ritual) face-covering" ? (cf. פְּרָמָא) The usual word for the Mandæan ritual face-bandage, which covers the lower part of the face only, is the *pandama.* It is also called the *paiman.* These forms recall the Pahlevi and Parsi *padân*, and the Pazend *panam* or *penum.* The Avestan (see Modi · *Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees,* p. 56) is *paitidâna.* Jastrow gives פרדמא and פְּרָמָא, i.e. "rag used as a mask". The addition of the suffix *an* or *ana* is common in Mandæan. Hence the "praman" is probably the ritual face-bandage which any Mandæan priest puts on when performing ritual (The Zoroastrian priest wears a *padân* before the fire-altar). The Euphrates, not the Tigris, is the holy river for Mandæans. "The mouth of the Light-Euphrates" is (nowadays) the junction of that river with the Tigris at Qurna. The junction of two rivers has been thought curative and life-bestowing since Babylonian times. (Cf. R. Campbell-Thompson's *Semitic Magic*, p. li.)

[6] The Eye is compelled to give the recipe for her own exorcism.

which is loosed and goes forth from her nest, and like . . . .[1] which is loosed and goes forth from its . . . . . .,[2] and like salt which is loosed and dissolves in water, and like a creature which is loosed and comes forth which was in the earth, by the word which he said to them.

"Go! pronounce this saying upon Bel, my father, that he may take his crown, and set it on his head, and may take his armour and hang it on his shoulder, and a mulberry staff and grasp it in his hand and arrange the whole world in perfection."

And he said to him, "Go, pronounce this saying upon the seven Planets, and they shall take their crowns and set them on their heads and shall take their armour and hang it on their shoulders, and the mulberry staff and grasp it with their hands and order the whole world in perfection. Go, pronounce this saying upon the sea, when it is full of water[3] and fishes and dolphins go about in it, so that spring herbage, fruits, grapes, and trees may flourish over it. Go, pronounce this saying upon the sheep tended by shepherds: the sheep shall loosen their mouths to the pasture and their young be free to suck and go behind them (on ?) the hills. Go, pronounce this saying on the bull(s) of King Pharaoh of the Egyptians: the mouths of the bulls shall be loosened to the pasture, and the mouths of their young shall be loosened to suck, and the herdsmen shall go behind them. Go, pronounce this saying upon N. son of N., that the Evil Eye and Dim (Eye) and Blue Eye, and Eye with Cataract, and Darkened Eye may be exorcized and depart from him, like Shamish in the skies, and like wind in the clouds and like a winged bird that is loosed and goes forth from her nest, and like a . . . .[4] which is freed and goes forth from . . . .[5] and like salt

[1] *Tata.* A priest suggests "silkworm", but this is *tulita*.

[2] *Dibna.* The same man says "cocoon". Nöldeke translates "sheep-fold", and a priest gives "reed enclosure for sheep".

[3] An inland freshwater sea is indicated full in the time of flood and rain.

[4] See note 1 above: *tata*.

[5] See note 2 above: *dibna*.

that is dissolved and goes out in water. And health shall be upon N. son of N., and his wife and sons and daughters and and dwelling and enclosure and buildings, in the health of Manda d Hiia, the Healer." And he said, "The contemptuous [1] eye of your father and the eye of evil neighbours and their sons and the eye of those who go and the eye of those who come and the eye of those who depart and the
(160) eye of those who approach, and the eye of boys and the eye of girls and the eye of *zanai* [2] and the eye of *zamar* [3] and the eye of all the earth, and the Eye which struck N. son of N We will remove the willow and set up the date-palm.[4] What is loathsome [5] amongst the loathsome shall fall away from him who sits by himself and is sundered by separation.

We will pronounce it amongst the sheep and the bulls and
(170) the . . . . .[6] And thou, Evil and Diseased Eye, shalt be smoked out (?) and shalt be shamed and become impotent (and depart) from the body of N. son of N., like a woman who sat before her father-in-law and mother-in-law and trembled, and was ashamed, as if a-cold. And be abased, thou Evil Eye, which strikes N. son of N. And Life be praised. . . . .

In the name of the Great Life, health shall be unto N. son of N. One of the Eye, and Two of the Eyes and Three of my Eye and Four of Eyes and Five of Eyes and Six of Eyes and
(180) Seven of Eyes. And the Blue Eye and the Dried-up Eye and the Whitened Eye and the Parched Eye and the Consumed Eye and the eye of a coming (person) and the eye of a going, and the eye of a sitting (person) and the eye of the going-away and the eye of the approaching, and the eye of *zanai* and the eye of *zamar* [2] and the eye (of him ?) sitting

[1] *Bsana*.

[2] *Zanai uzmar* a common expression in exorcisms. "My whore and singing-boy" is possible, but improbable.

[3] See note 2.

[4] Play on words: *'uir* meaning "blind" and *diq* "seeing".

[5] ? *nandia*.

[6] *Tata* or *tatha*, see note 1, page 601.

on the heights and the eye cast upon the high firmament that upon . . . . (?). Thou camest, Eye that withers and torments (lit. that was a witherer and torment) to brothers. Thou camest to brothers, and the brothers began to strike [1] each other. And to mothers thou didst come, and didst divide the mothers against each other. Turn thee from the house and body of N. son of N. The date-palm is uprooted from his garden (i.e. his sight is gone). And a fetter has fettered thee: the reed into the reed mat . . . . (*text seems defective*). And rain beats thee down (or, "a flail beats thee down") a stone house crushes thee flat, the mud brick in the building . . . . [2] Amongst the spring herbage thou art forced to kneel and cast down on the bank of the Euphrates and Tigris by the youth with his armour and the archer with his bow: the shepherds with their sheep crushed thee and the herdsman with his bulls . . . . [3] with his shoe. And the lion takes thee to his cub, and the wolf to its litter, the bird to its nest, and the crab to its mate, and they shall take away the Evil Eye and Dimmed (Eye) which has struck N. son of N. And She shall melt away and depart from him like salt melts and goes forth into the water and like vapours [4] from the mouth of a bowl and like wine from the mouth of those drinking it, and like slumber from the eye of a sleeper. We will take away the willow and set up the date-palm [5] and set it with a firm stem (?).[6] Thou art brought to ignominy and utterly confounded and brought to nought, Evil Eye and Dimmed that has struck N. son of N.: thou art exorcised and goest forth from him like salt melteth and goeth forth in the waters. Thou art confounded and brought to nought Evil Eye and Dimmed that has struck N. son of N. Be rooted out! . . . . . . [7] be shamed! and confounded! And we

[1] *Gtl* sometimes used for "beat".
[2] *Utibukh abara* hardly makes sense.
[3] *Usab sida* "and ate their fill" obviously miscopied.
[4] *Hufia* "vapours", "froth".
[5] See note 4, page 602.
[6] *Silwa* "rod", "stick".

will cast down thy high place [1] and waters shall well forth. And life be praised. . . . .

I read (or "spelt") [2] spells of the Great Name, and spelt the Great, First, Spoken Word upon the Confused Eye and the Crushed Eye and the Whitened Eye and the Blue Eye and the Parched-up Eye, and the Eye that dwells (of him that sitteth ?) on a dunghill, and on the eye (of one) entering his house, and (of one) leaving it, and upon the eye of the fisherman who looks up from the marsh-pool, and upon the eye of the shepherd who looks up from his sheep, the eye which is jealous and the eye which is haughty. Thou art expelled like a . . . . . [3] and wanderest lost and ruined like a . . . . . [4]

And She said to him: "If I am not a jealous eye, and if I am not haughty! If there is not a jealous and a haughty eye! Ye created me!" [5]

And he said to her: "These that thou didst not envy, these that thou didst not despise, that thou camest and met them in the hall [6] of the king's house, and the great race of mighty men, thou didst strike them with the Eye and didst turn round on thy road. The hall of the king's palace fell down, and the great tribe of mighty men thou didst turn out (break up ?), shrivelling whatever was flourishing amongst them. Jealous Eye and Haughty Eye, thou art expelled like a . . . . [3] and art lost and ruined like a . . . . ." [4]

And She said to him, "And if I am not a jealous eye and not

[1] '*kura*. A building on a hill, or mound. Cf. the modern Arabic *kūra*, a brick kiln, built on a mound.

[2] Merely reciting the letters of the alphabet constitutes an exorcism, because letters are magic. Hence the verb *abaga*.

[3] *Pilqa* and [4] '*urnasa*. I am unable to translate these words. Priests are glib with translations, but no reliance can be placed on these, chiefly guesses.

[5] The Eye's defence is that often made by people accused of having the Evil Eye, viz. that their intentions were innocent, that they were not envious or scornful. The exorcizer confronts the accused with the results of the baleful look.

[6] See note 4, page 597.

a haughty eye! If there be not a jealous Eye and scornful eye! Ye created me!"

And he said to her, "These that thou didst not envy, these that thou didst not scorn, (that) thou camest and met a yoke of six oxen and six cultivators who cast sowing and seed into the earth. Thou didst lift thine eye and cast it on them, and saidest, "How beautiful are the ploughed fields, and beautiful the farmers who are in them!" Thou didst strike them with the
Eye and didst turn round on thy road. The yoke parted and (260)
the plough-ropes [1] broke and the bulls galloped to the marsh and the cultivators ran to their village, and the seed thou didst sever from the earth. Envious Eye and Scornful Eye, thou art expelled like a . . . . . ." [2]

And she said, "And if I am not the jealous eye and not the scornful eye? If there is not the envious eye and the scornful eye! Ye created me!"

And he said to her, "These that thou didst not envy, these
that thou didst not despise, that thou camest and didst meet (270)
them in the house of six brothers and six mothers sitting in one house and eating in one dish,[3] and standing at one oven, and enclosed by one wall. Thou didst raise thine eye and cast it on them, and saidest, 'How pleasant are the brothers in each others' company (lit. "amongst each other"), and the mothers towards each other: they do not quarrel.' Thou didst strike them with the Eye, and didst turn round
on thy road, and the brothers fell upon each other and (280)
the mothers fell upon each other. Thou didst cast trouble and agitation amongst them. Envious Eye and Haughty Eye, thou art put forth like a . . . . .[4] and art lost and spoilt like a . . . ." [5]

And she said to him, "And if I am not an envious eye and

[1] *Shanziria*. A priest translates "plough-ropes". Cf. שזירה = rope.

[2] *'urnasa*.

[3] Literally "basket". The marsh-tribes place their food on a large woven basket-platter, sitting round it, and eating with their hands from it.

[4] *pilqa*. See above.

[5] *'urnasa*. See above.

not a scornful eye! If there is not an envious eye and a scornful eye! Ye created me!"

And he said to her, "These that thou didst not envy, these that thou didst not despise! And thou didst meet with them, with four lovely women, at their loom. Thou didst lift thine eye and cast it on them and saidest, 'How fair are these beauties, and how beautiful the shuttles which are in their hands!' Thou didst strike them with the Eye, and didst turn round on thy way. The high (threads) [1] broke and the low (threads) broke. The pretty ones wept and their children lamented. Trouble and confusion thou didst cast amongst them. Envious Eye and Scornful Eye thou art put forth like a . . . .[2] and lost and ruined like a . . . .[3] Shame thee! and depart from this body of N. son of N. like a woman . . . . .[4] who took a . . . . .[5] on her shoulder and went to fill it with water. And the father- and mother-in-law of the bride met her. She was stupefied,[6] her bosom swelled, her head bowed,[7] and the water-pot (?) fell from her and was broken and she was covered with shame. Like her, be shamed and go forth, thou Evil Eye, from the body of N. son of N. Eye that did raven (?).[8] Thou art cast forth like a . . . .,[9] and lost and ruined like a . . . . .[10] Be shamed, and go forth from the body of N. son of N. and from his house and yard, and his bull and his cows and from his purse and his

[1] The marsh loom is of reeds and wood. The shuttle is passed between the higher and lower threads. The second *'lana* is redundant

[2] *pilqa.*

[3] *'urnasa.*

[4] Written *'sira.* From the context below it looks as if this should be *'rusa* "bride".

[5] *Bukta.* This would seem from the context to be a water-pot.

[6] Should be, I think, ࡏࡕࡂࡃࡀࡕ *'tigdat.* Cf. خُدِرَ "benumbed", "stupefied".

[7] I read *'tgihnat.*

[8] From רעב to be ravenous? (ע often becomes "a" in Mandaean.) Or "didst become big?" *Rabat* might mean "grew big with envious surprise".

[9] and [10] *pilqa* and *'urnasa.* See above.

possessions. And Life be praised: Life is victorious . . . .

In the Name of the Great Life, health shall be to N. son of N. Cast-out and confounded are the eyes of the seven witches from the house and body of N. son of N. and from his wife and sons and daughters and from his animals and his possessions. And I, N. son of N, my eye is in light and my leg in stability. And I am N. son of N. and you, wizards, are below me, and I, N. son of N., am above you. Be exorcized and expelled [1] from N. son of N. in the name of the angel Hardbi'l and expelled in the name of the angel Gadfi'il and expelled in the name of the angel Hamgi'il. Be exorcized, evil spells and deluding evil spirits and Evil Eye and Dimmed, from the body of N. son of N., by the name of your father,[2] and your wings above you (?). The body of N. son of N. is loosed and freed for ever from the spell of your words [3] and your oaths, also his wife, his sons and his daughters. Free him and loose him with scroll and ink, and establish the heavens before N. son of N. and the earth be established firmly before him. And health shall be upon N. son of N. by means of this word of light. Life is victorious over all deeds. . . . .

The mystery of this exorcizing command for whomsoever is constricted and polluted by spells, when written on a tin bowl or a leaden (bowl), shall be a loosing (exorcism). At its time and moment [4] read it over a jar of water [5] and go by thyself to the house, and at thy time and moment. Then

[1] *Shria* "loosed". *Shria* is often used for "exorcized". The verb is employed for "reading" a prayer which frees. Cf. the common expression *shra masiqta* "he read a mass" (i e. a rite to free and raise the soul). Hence "expelled" is a relative translation.

[2] Namely Bel, who is spoken of elsewhere as the father of the Eye.

[3] A somewhat free translation.

[4] At the right time astrologically.

[5] Exorcisms are commonly read over a jar or bowl of water. The exorcist often places a fresh sprig of myrtle or flowers in the water, the strength and health of the growing things is invoked by this action. Water is the symbol of life and vitality.

the eyes of the seven evil ones, of the witches, shall be closed. And strengthen and heal me! . . . .

Bound and confined [1] and cut out and tormented is the Blue Eye. Bound and confined is the Dried-up Eye; bound and confined the Whitened Eye; bound and confined is the Darkened Eye; bound and confined is the Cut-out Eye; bound and confined is the Buried Eye; bound and confined is the Hollow Eye; bound and confined is the Eye (of him) that stands on the mountains; bound and confined is the Eye (of him) that sits on the heights; bound and confined is the Eye which is cast on the firmament; bound and confined the Eye which confused and perplexed the head. I, N. son of N., rise upwards; and ye, wizards, are below me and I am above you. The evil wizards are exorcized and deluding spirits are exorcized. They are exorcized, the wizards, and shut up, banned, put to shame, confounded and utterly abashed and torn out [2] and rendered innocuous. They are made to quake, and scared off, curbed and constricted by the name with which he exorcized them; Radiance, exorcizing Being that exorcized the dragons of the *yardna*.[3] Light he is, an exorcizer of darkness he is, a fetterer of wizards he is, a remover of muttered spells he is . . . and they shall be removed. Revivification he is, and revivification shall be. Goodness [4] he is, and goodness shall be. Light he is, and light shall be.

[5] Closed, thou art made innocuous,[6] Blue Eye. Closed, thou shalt show forth, Dried-up Eye. Closed, thou becomest bright, Whitened Eye. Barred up, thou burstest forth,

[1] Or " shut ". The glance of a person with a diseased eye is as baleful as that of a person with the apparently harmless evil eye, or blue eye.

[2] Should be *mshamtia*.

[3] *Yardna*. A generic term for all flowing water.

[4] *Tabutha*. A more exact translation would be " wholesomeness ". The word is often used of food, especially that of the ritual meal.

[5] The entire paragraph which follows is obscure. The key seems to be " thou art made clear, buried eye ", taken in conjunction with the preceding paragraph. But there is hardly a verb which is not ambiguous.

[6] Shafel QHA ? קהא

Consumed Eye. Closed up, thou art made clear, Buried Eye. Closed, thou lookest up (or "art cast-off") Cut-out Eye which is on them.

And encircle them, Adonai Ṣbabuth, and turn and break (380) them (or "put them out") and remove them. And root up and put an end to taking-captive, and leprosy and fever shall be taken away from the body of N. son of N. Blessed are the blessed and to be blessed for ever. Life is victorious. . . .

. . . .

Bound, closed, exorcized, and purified is the blue eye of Shamish and the sucked-out eye of Libat and the whitened eye of Nbu and the corroded eye of Sin and the hollow eye of Kiwan and the buried eye of Bel and the cut-out eye of (390) Nirig and the eye ("of him") who sits (or, "which dwells") on the heights and the eye cast on the firmament, and the eye of my spouse. And health shall be upon N. son of N. Life is victorious. . . . . Read the great mystery upon a male and a female lamb. Write on a scroll of gazelle-skin and hang it on the neck. . . . .

. . . .

[1] Closed, sealed and purified thou art rendered innocuous, [2] blue eye of Shamish. Closed and exorcized, thou art blinded, sucked-out eye of Libat. Closed and exorcized thou art made to fear, whitened eye of Nbu. Closed and (400) exorcized thou. . . . [3] consumed eye of Sin. Closed and exorcized is the hollow eye of Kiwan. Closed and exorcized, thou becamest clear, covered-in eye of Bel. Closed and exorcized, thou didst look up and was cast-off, cut-out eye of Nirig. Closed and exorcized, the mystery of my spouse was cured and ended.[4]

[1] The following paragraph is also ambiguous. I suggest that it originally applied to the diseased state of the eyes of the planets named, which were cured by exorcism, and that priestly editing, attributing a maleficent purpose to the planets, converted them from being the sufferers, into being those who inflicted suffering. That Bel was a sufferer from the Eye appears later on in the roll.

[2] Shafel QHA ?

[3] *Ṣarṣit* "burstest forth". Possibly "was burnt out" ?

[4] *Sam usaf.*

Bound, shut in by a magic circle and surrounded by water [1] is the mystery which was closed up.

Bow thyself, mystery and winking! Shut-in are all the race of darkness and the black waters: shut-in and banned are their kings: their schemes are made vain.

Ye are bound, shut-in, sealed, named,[2] rendered impotent, curbed, and held-back from the body of N. son of N. by the name of that chief Arch-lord.[3]

Darkness shall be impotent and light shall be victorious of (over) the twenty-two races of the house of Simiaiil, the Evil One. Darkness shall be confounded and light be victorious. And health shall be the part of N. son of N., from the great first life and from Manda d Hiia. Life is victorious.

. . . .

. . . .

[4] I sit in a great cloud of light! I am Hibil Ziwa the Righteous, Son of the Place of Light, son of the abode of glory, son of the city of 'uthris, and the 'uthris my brothers are the sons of light which stand before me. Anush the Small stands at my left, and Shitel stands at my right. They, and their vestments and those that are with me, stand and praise the great Cloud of Light from which we were transplanted. Then we heard the cry of N. son of N., the man struck by the Eye and overtaken by blindness. She took him, and his heart was oppressed and his thought was troubled. And I am Hibil Ziwa, the Righteous, and I say to the 'uthris, my brothers, the sons of the light, who sit in the Occult, and I say to them, "Descend to the earth of Tibil and perform some healing

[1] HAQ: "to draw a circle round" (in the ground) as in making a *miṣra, i.e an enclosure isolating an area from contamination.* MAQ *might* mean "surrounded by a ditch or runnel of water" (as in ritual). Obscure and, I suspect, corrupt.

[2] To name a demon is to take away its power

[3] *Rishaga* "Head Agha" (Persian *agha* = "lord, master").

[4] This and the following section seem to me of later authorship. The mention of Ruha d Qudsha indicates late composition, and the tag of "directions for use" speaks of "these two gates" as if they had been incorporated by a scribe and were not part of the original.

action upon N. son of N., the man and (or ?) the woman, and say to them, to the Righteous Elect, formed of flesh and blood, 'Take this command; write it for N. son of N., the man struck by the Eye and overtaken by blindness, whose heart (440)
is oppressed and whose thought is confused, and health shall be upon N. son of N. in the name of Manda d Hiia, healers, lords of healing powers. Life is victorious.

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(*To be concluded*)

Notes on the Silver Punch-marked Coins in the British Museum

By E. H. C. WALSH

1. *The Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum*, by Mr. J. Allan, published last year, has made the silver punch-marked coins available to all, and the clear system of classification which Mr. Allan has followed and his scholarly and complete Introduction give all the information about these coins that is at present available, while the large number of the coins which are illustrated in the plates enable the conclusions arrived at in the Introduction to be confirmed or questioned. General thanks are due to Mr. Allan for this important work. As this Catalogue will be the standard source of reference for the consideration and classification of these coins, it is important to note any points that arise from its consideration.

2. There are two distinct classes of punch-marked coins: the older are large and thin in fabric, while the later coins are smaller and thick. In both classes they bear, with few exceptions, a group of five marks on the obverse, but differ in the nature of the marks on the reverse. The older class of coins were issued with a blank reverse, on which bankers or money changers, through whose hands the coins passed in circulation, in some cases stamped their private marks. These marks are of an entirely different character to the obverse marks and, invariably, smaller in size. They, naturally occur haphazard without any system, and the reverses vary from blank or a single mark in the case of coins of shorter circulation, to a great number of marks stamped over one another and covering the whole coin in the case of very old coins of very long circulation.

In the later coins, on the other hand, the reverse marks are of a definite and systematic type, and, as Mr. Allan notes (p. xxi), "there is an association between groups of obverse symbols and certain reverse symbols", and (p. xxxvii), even

when there are two or three punches, on examination it is usually found that the second and third are later counter-marks, and certain groups of symbols are found with identical obverses (p. xxxix). They are associated with localities: as the "Taxila Mark", which is found on these later coins associated with that locality. They are also in most cases the same as marks which occur on the obverse, though not on the obverse of the coin on whose reverse they occur. They appear to indicate the locality or localities in which the circulation of the coin was authorized.

The greater part of the punch-marked coins in the British Museum are of the later class; Classes 6 and 7, 146 coins, are of the older class. The present notes refer to the older class of coins.

The Age of Punch-marked Coins

3. Two important finds of silver punch-marked coins have been made in the Bhir Mound at Taxila, which have not yet been published in full. In 1924, 1,171 silver coins and some jewelry were found in an earthenware pot 6 feet below the present surface in association with the second stratum which had already been judged to belong to the third or fourth century B.C[1] Together with them were two coins of Alexander the Great and one of Philip Aridæus, "fresh from the mint," and an Achæmenid *siglos* of the fourth century B.C. Mr Allan refers to this find on p. xlii. They have been examined by the writer, but the examination has not yet been published. Thirty-three are single-type oblong-bar coins, similar to those in the British Museum (pp. 1–2, Pl. I, 1–3), seventy-nine are minute coins, up to then unknown, similar to the four British Museum coins of Class 9 (pp. 286–7, Pl. XLVI, 18, 19), and the remaining 1,059 are punch-marked coins of the older class.

4. The other find was of 175 punch-marked coins of the later class found with a gold coin of Diodotus in a single

[1] *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1924–5, pp 47–8, pl. IX.

deposit, also in the Bhir Mound at Taxila, in 1912.[1] Mr. Allan refers to this find on p. xliv. These coins have also been examined by the writer. Five of the coins, which are of a distinct type from the others, are of usual types of the later coins. The remaining 170 coins are all of one type and all bear on the reverse the "Taxila" symbol, though in many cases it is in a very debased and almost unrecognizable form. They are of an alloy of silver and copper, the composition being very irregular.

The finding of these two hoards of the older and later class of coins on the same site, in each case dated by an extraneous coin, is of importance as fixing the relative age of the two classes. The examination of the coins leads to the conclusion that the coin of Philip Aridæus fixes the *latest date* of the larger Bhiṛ Mound find at about 317 B.C., the coin of Diodotus fixes the *current date* of these later coins at 248 B.C.; and the fact that there was no coin of the later class amongst the earlier hoard appears to show that this later form of coin was not in existence in 317 B.C.

5. The coins of the larger Bhiṛ Mound find, which are of great variety, evidently cover a long period, perhaps over 200 years, which would carry the age of these coins into the sixth century B.C., and, as Mr. Allan observes (§ 14, p. xix), the punch-marked coins show no signs of evolution, the marks on the earliest examples are as completely designed and engraved as on later examples, and thus indicate a long previous period of this coinage.

Some of the symbols which occur on the punch-marked coins also appear on the seals found at Mohenjo-Daro, and therefore would appear to have come down from that time. The standard of weight of these coins, also, as pointed out by Mr. Hemmy,[2] is one-fourth of the revised principal unit of the Indus system, which would show a connection with those times.

[1] Marshall, *ASR.*, 1912–13, p. 42.

[2] "Weight Standards of Ancient Indian Coins," by A. F. Hemmy, *JRAS.*, 1937, pp. 1–26, p. 10.

Comparison of the Bhiṛ Mound Older Coins with the Coins in the British Museum

6. A selection of the coins from Bhiṛ Mound were illustrated (*A.S.R.*, 1924–5, Pl. IX) and, as Mr. Allan notes (p. xlii), they correspond with several groups of the British Museum coins. The comparison can now be completed, as shown in the Table below :—

Serial No.	British Museum Coins	No. of Coins	Bhiṛ Mound Coins	No. of Coins
1	Class 2, Group VII var. *i*	1	Class B (*e*), Sub-Class 1	2
2	,, ,, ,, VIII ,, *b*	1	,, ,, ,, 2	19
3	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *c*	1	,, D ,, 3	38
4	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *d*	3	,, ,, ,, 2	89
5	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *e*	4	,, ,, ,, 1	17
6	,, 5 ,, ,, ,, *a*, *b*	2	,, K ,, 1 & 2	2
7	,, 6 ,, I ,, *a*	15	,, M ,, 1	35
8	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *b*	1	,, ,, ,, 4	3
9	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *c*	1	,, ,, ,, 5	6
10	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *d*	1	,, ,, ,, 2	4
11	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *g*	1	,, J ,, 2	2
12	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *h*	2	,, ,, ,, 1	10
13	,, ,, ,, II ,, *e*	6	,, C ,, 1	70
14	,, ,, ,, III ,, *b*	2	,, A ,, 34	1
15	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *c*	26	,, ,, ,, 1	207
16	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *d*	3	,, ,, ,, 7	14
17	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *e*	4	,, ,, ,, 8	9
18	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *f*	2	,, ,, ,, 5	16
19	,, ,, ,, IV ,, *a*	9	,, ,, ,, 2	30
20	,, ,, ,, ,, *b*	2	,, ,, ,, 19	25
21	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *d*	1	,, ,, ,, 24	5
22	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *e*	2	,, ,, ,, 28	6
23	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *f*	2	,, ,, ,, 26	2
24	,, ,, ,, V ,, *a*, *c*	10 + 1	,, B (*b*) ,, 1	18
25	,, ,, ,, VI ,, *a*	6	,, L ,, 1	18
26	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *b*	2	,, ,, ,, 2 & 3	7
27	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *c*	1	,, ,, ,, 4	2
28	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *j*	1	,, Q ,, 6*a*	1
29	,, ,, ,, VII ,, *a*	1	,, I ,, 2	1
30	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *e*	2	,, ,, ,, 1	7

In the case of serial nos. 1, 2, 4, 13, 15, 18, 19, and 23 the British Museum coins have on the reverse the mark of a Hill-with-Crescent. This mark does not appear on any of the Bhiṛ Mound coins. This mark is distinctive of the coins of the Mauryan Empire, and would appear to have been stamped

on the reverse of those coins at a later date to authorize their continued circulation at that date.

Serial No. 13 (Class 6, Group II, var. *e*).—There are 70 coins (Class C, 1) corresponding to this variety. The complete mark on the coins is a Bull-on-a-Hill . Two of the British Museum coins of this variety are illustrated: Coin 8, p. 65 (Pl. VIII, 22), shows a part of the bull only on the edge of the coin, and Coin 11 (Pl. VIII, 23) shows part of the hill beneath the bull, the bull itself being off the coin. Owing to the large size of this mark, only a portion of it generally appears on the coin. As this mark is a locality-mark, this variety forms a separate group. There are altogether 101 coins of Class C, Bull-Hill, in the Bhiṛ Mound coins.

Serial No. 18 (Class 6, Group III, var. *f*).—The fifth symbol (§ 27, symbol 3 on p. xxiv) shown as a snake is not a snake but a waved line  squared off at each end. There is no head as shown. In the British Museum coin of this variety which is illustrated, Coin 39, p. 71 (Pl. VII, 13), the mark is also of this form.

Mr. Allan also notes Class 6, Group VI, var. *d*, as occurring in the Bhiṛ Mound coins, but there is no corresponding coin in the Bhiṛ Mound coins. This coin is illustrated on Plate IV, 24 (*vide* Corrigenda, p. clxiv). It will be seen that the animal on it is the rhinoceros, and not the bull, as shown.

The Significance of the Symbols

7. The marks on the punch-marked coins may be divided into two classes: those of General Significance, which are found on punch-marked coins generally wherever they may be found, and which therefore do not indicate any particular locality or authority, and those of Special Significance, which appear to indicate a particular locality or authority. The marks of general significance are the sun and the six-armed symbol, which appear on all these coins, with the exception of two particular classes found respectively

at Paila and at Sahet Mahet (Class 9, § 79, p. lxix), both in the northern part of the United Provinces; and certain of the later coins (Class 2, Group I, vars. *f* and *g*, pp. 21–4, and Group II, vars. *c–g*, pp. 26, 7), in which their place is taken by other marks, while other distinctive marks remain unchanged. Also the bull and the elephant are of very general occurrence on punch-marked coins, wherever they are found. One or other or both of these marks also occur on a thousand of the Paila coins. The marks of Special Significance are Locality Marks, indicating the area of the coins, such as specified hills and tanks, and, as the fifth mark, what would appear to be Authority Marks, indicating the authority by which the particular coin was issued. This accounts for the great variety of these fifth marks.

8. Mr. Allan considers (p. xxii) that generally speaking the symbols seem to have no religious significance, neither Buddhist nor Hindu. To this there may be an exception in the case of the bull, and also the trident, which only appears on the older class of coins, both of which are emblems of Śiva. The bull is of frequent occurrence on the Mohenjo-Daro seals, and Mr. Durgā Prasād [1] calls attention to one of those seals [2] which contains a seated figure which corresponds to the representation of Śiva.

Mr. Durgā Prasād [1] attributes a Tantric significance to the symbols on these coins (p. 16), and notes the resemblances, which are striking, in full detail. But, apart from the fact that there would not seem to be any reason why the symbols on this coinage should have had a purely religious significance, the fact that many of these symbols appear on the seals found at Mohenjo-Daro would preclude this conclusion. The analogy of the symbols with the subsequent Tantric formulae does not necessarily prove that those symbols then had that significance.

[1] "Classification and significance of the Symbols on the Silver Punch-marked Coins of Ancient India," by Durgā Prasād, *JASB.*, 1934, Numismatic Supplement, xlv, pp. 5–50 and 32 plates.

[2] *Mohenjo-Daro*, vol i, pl. xii, fig 17; op. cit. pl xxx.

9. Two symbols, the sun and the six-armed symbol, occur on all punch-marked coins of the older class, with the exception of the coins of one locality, probably the ancient kingdom of Kosala, and on most classes of the later coins. They neither of them occur on the reverse.

A mark on the reverse of coin No. 1 on p. 41 is shown as the sun-mark. Reference to the coin (Pl. XLII, 7) shows the mark as a hollow centre punched into the coin, there is no ring round it, and there are some hollow indents round the centre. It is, therefore, not the sun-mark, in which the centre is always a raised boss, with a ring round it which is surrounded by the rays. The point is material, as the sun-mark never occurs on the reverse. The mark, somewhat similar in appearance, which appears on both the obverse and reverse of Coin 17 on p. 44, Class 2, Group VI, var. *h*, which is illustrated on Pl. VI, 25, is in relief. The "rays" are rounded at the ends, and the mark would appear to be intended for a flower.

THE SIX-ARMED SYMBOL

10. The "six-armed symbol", in one or other of its varieties, occurs on almost all the punch-marked silver coins found throughout India. Mr. Allan describes this symbol as follows (p. xxiii): "Its general structure is a circle with a pallet in the centre; around the circle are six arms, three (more rarely two) of which are arrow-heads and the other three are taurine symbols, fishes, triskelis in an oval, taurine in an oval, etc., and 'dumb-bell' symbols, which we meet elsewhere. It is simpler to give the forms that occur than to describe them in words. None of these symbols occurs on the reverse. Similar symbols occur, but very rarely, on other series."

A similar symbol was found by Schliemann on clay whorls in the earliest strata at Troy. For this reason the writer, in previous papers,[1] has referred to this mark for the purpose

[1] *JBORS.*, 1919, pp. 16–72; *JBORS.*, 1919, pp. 463–494; *JRAS.*, 1924, Centenary Supplement, pp. 175–189.

of distinguishing it, as "the Troy Mark", without, however, implying any connection in this respect between Troy and the punch-marked coins. The name, "The six-armed-symbol," adopted by Mr. Allan is, however, much better, and should now be generally adopted.

11. This symbol occurs in several varieties. Mr. Allan shows fourteen varieties of this symbol on the British Museum coins (p. xxiii), to which two more should be added, as noted below. Twenty-five varieties occur on the Bhiṛ Mound coins, which extend over a very long period. These include all the British Museum varieties except Nos. 3, 4 (only a part shown), 11, 13, and 14, which all occur on the later coins. The reference in Index IV, of the marks, to variety 13 as occurring on p. 69 of the Catalogue (Class 6, Group III, of the older coins) appears to be a mistake, as those coins bear variety 6.

12. The following two varieties also occur on the British Museum coins. On Coins 1 and 2 on p. 59 (Class 5, vars. *a* and *b*) the symbol is shown as variety 2, . Coin 1 is illustrated (Pl. X, 17). Several years ago the writer examined this coin, together with others, in the British Museum, and then drew the mark from the coin as . Examination of the coin on the plate confirms that drawing. This constitutes another variety of the symbol to be added to those given on p. xxiii. This is variety 1*d* of the Bhiṛ Mound coins and occurs on five of those coins (Class J 3, and K 1 and 2). There are two other British Museum coins which bear the same variety of the hill-mark as on these two coins, viz. Coins 48 and 49 on p. 72 (Class 6, Group III, var. *k*). It is, therefore, probable that the form of the symbol on those coins is this same additional variety as on the two previous coins. This is the form of the symbol (1 *d*) on the three coins (Class K, Sub Class 1 and 2), of the Bhiṛ Mound coins which bear this hill-mark.

It will be noticed that the three objects in this symbol are not "fish", drawn with their tails towards the centre, but with rounded ends towards the centre, and two rounded projections at the outer end—and that the lateral projections are at right angles, not sloping backwards, as the fins of the "fish" are represented. It therefore appears that this is a distinct object.

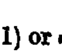
To show the distinction we have described this object, wherever it occurs on the Bhiṛ Mound coins, as a "Beetle". It is clearly an aquatic creature, as is shown by its occurrence in the tank-symbols, as in symbols Nos. 1, 2, 3 (§ 29, p. xxix); it is also the object in symbols Nos. 5 and 6 on p. xxx. The difference between this object and the "fish" will be clearly seen by comparison with the fish in the tank-mark, No. 4, § 29, on the coins, Pl. VIII, 10, 11, and others of that mark which are illustrated.

13. On Coin 3, p. 52 (Class 2, Group VIII, var. *c*) the six-armed symbol is shown as variety 1, viz. with three unenclosed taurines. The coin is illustrated, Pl. XLII, 22. Only part of the mark appears on the coin, which shows a taurine enclosed in an oval. On the following coin, 4 (var. *d*), it is shown as variety 7, viz. composed with three "hour-glass" symbols enclosed in ovals. The coin is illustrated, Pl. II, 20; only part of the mark appears on the coin which shows only an object somewhat resembling the capital letter I, in an oval. On Coin 7, p. 53 (var. *e*), the symbol is shown as variety 6, which consists of three taurines-in-an-oval. The coin is illustrated, Pl. II, 12; only part of the mark appears, which shows one taurine-in-an-oval. Similarly Coin 8, Pl. XLII, 23, shows one taurine-in-an-oval; and Coin 9, Pl. XLII, 24 shows one arrow and the remaining object which completes this form of the symbol. The complete form of the symbol is . In the hoard of the old coins of the Bhiṛ Mound, there are 38 coins similar to Coin 3 (var. *c*); 89 coins similar to Coins 4, 5, 6 (var. *d*); and 17 coins similar

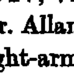
to Coins 7, 8, 9, 10 (var. *e*); a total of 144 coins which bear this mark. The symbol on many of those coins is complete and clear. But we have shown how it may be constructed from the British Museum coins referred to, as an example of how marks on punch-marked coins have to be constructed from different portions of incomplete marks, where the complete mark does not appear.

The method is, of course, liable to error unless each component of the mark appears on one of the coins. Thus in the coins referred to, the attribution of the six-armed symbol to each of the three varieties *c*, *d*, and *e*, deduced from the portions of the mark appearing on coins of those varieties, is mistaken.

It is not clear what the two additional objects in this form of the symbol are intended to represent. The one, , occurs by itself as a reverse mark on one of the old Taxila coins, and in conjunction with another object, a reverse mark on two of those coins, but not of the present class. In each of those cases it may be a Brāhmī letter, either *n* or *no*. The other object, in shape resembling a tankard, may possibly represent a large weight, the curved line projecting on the right being the handle for lifting it. But this is merely a conjecture.

14. Variety No. 14 of this symbol is shown on p. xxiii as "  (Pl. IX, 11) or  (Pl. X, 3)", with a *footnote* :—

"[3] It is probable that the former of these forms is much the commoner and should more frequently replace the latter in the text." Only the eight-armed form is shown in the Catalogue. It occurs on 28 coins of different varieties in Class 2, Groups IV, VII, and IX, on pp. 34, 35, 50, 51, and 54. In each case Mr. Allan notes that the symbol is in the six-armed form. The eight-armed form does not appear on any known punch-marked coin.

15. . Variety No. 3 of the symbol consists of

a hare together with four arrows, the remaining sixth symbol not being decipherable. The hare is well known in Indian mythology associated with the moon.

Nine coins (Class 2, Group IV, vars. *h*, *k*, *l*, pp. 35–37) are shown as bearing this mark. They all also bear the mark of the goat-and-branch. Four of these coins are illustrated (Coin 40, p. 35, Pl. XLI, 23 ; Coin 44, p. 36, Pl. VI, 4 ; Coin 48, p. 37, Pl. VI, 12 ; and Coin 39, p. 37, Pl. V, 22). The mark is not complete on any of the coins, the hare only appears on two coins. On Coin 49, of Theobald (Pl. V, 22), the hare is complete, only the upper portion of the mark appears on the coin ; an arrow-head, which has been overstamped, is to the left of the hare, and on the right is what appears to be a taurine. On Coin 48 (Pl. VI, 12), also, only the upper part appears ; the hare, except its head, and one arrow-head only, to the left of it. On Coin 40 (Pl. XLI, 23) only a portion of the mark appears on the coin. It has been counter-marked by a reverse-mark, a taurine ; there is nothing in this mark to indicate which variety of the six-armed symbol it is. On Coin 44 (Pl. VI, 4), also, only a portion of the mark appears on the coin, which may be four arrows, as shown, which have been mutilated by overstamping. But as the remaining three marks on Coins 44 to 49*a* are the same, which do not occur in any other variety, this rare mark may be safely attributed to them. On the other two coins, 40 and 40*a*, however, the remaining three marks are not the same ; but those coins are not illustrated. Theobald [1] illustrated the hare on his coin (Coin 49), on his Pl. VIII, 22, but was not aware that it formed part of the six-armed symbol ; as, after describing another mark on the coin as " 42—20, A goat (browsing on a vine) ", he describes it as " 43—22, A kid (of the last) ".

16. The variety of the six-armed symbol on a particular

[1] "Notes on some of the Symbols found on the punch-marked coins of Hindustan," by W. Theobald, *JASB.*, 1890, pp. 181–268, *vide* pp. 221 and 253.

group of coins is of importance, as a possible means of dating the coins, as in the case of Britannia on the penny, on which the particular variety dates the coin from the time of Charles II to the present day. Certain types are found only on the oldest coins, and other types on coins which, from other considerations, appear to be older than others which bear a different variety. This point has been fully considered in regard to the Bhiṛ Mound coins.

Coins not Bearing the Six-Armed Symbol

17. There are 52 coins of ten different varieties of Class 2, which do not bear either the six-armed symbol or the sun, but bear other marks in their place. [1] They are all of the later class of coins and bear marks on the reverse which associate them with Taxila. The remaining three marks on them, except the marks of human figures, also occur on other varieties which bear the sun and the six-armed symbol, and they would therefore appear to be a later form of that coinage, in which those two marks have been discarded. That this was a later development is also supported by the fact that the six-armed symbol only occurs on a single class of the Tribal coins (Class 3, pp. 253–6), which appear to be of Ujjàin, though not bearing the Ujjàin mark, and does not appear at all on the cast coins.

[1] These coins are .— Class 2. Group I. var. *f*, p. 21, 2 coins; var. *g*, pp. 21–3, 25 coins; var *h*, pp. 23–4, 4 coins. Group II, pp. 26–7, var. c, 3 coins; var d, 1 coin; var. *e*, 8 coins; var. *f*, 1 coin; var. *g*, 2 coins; var *h*, 5 coins; and Group VII, var. *f*, p. 47, 1 coin.

(To be concluded.)

Concerning the Variation of Final Consonants in the Word Families of Tibetan, Kachin, and Chinese

By STUART N. WOLFENDEN

THE purpose of the present somewhat desultory notes may be said to be twofold: firstly, to emphasize the necessity of comparing the word stock of one Indo-Chinese language with that of another by word families only,[1] secondly, to make a preliminary investigation into certain variations of a particular type within such families, as there are here certain anomalies of which very careful note will have to be taken in any comparative work along these lines.

The importance of the word family rather than the single word in comparisons from language to language has, indeed, previously been brought forward by others,[2] but until quite recently its real significance has been only just glimpsed, no definite examples in illustration having been adduced.

To emphasize this particular matter at the outset we may here consider the following case.

In Tibetan we have the word family *ạbyed-pa*, P. and Imp. *p̓ye, p̓yed, p̓yes*, F. *dbye* to open (vb. tr.), to separate, to keep apart, to divide, to distinguish, to classify, to pick out, to choose, to select, *p̓yed* half, *dbyad* an instrument to open the mouth by force, *dbyen-pa* difference, dissension, discord, schism, *ạbyer-ba*, P. and Imp. *byer* to disperse (as in flight), to scatter (vb. intr.), to flee in different directions, *dbye-r* (= *dbye-ru* in *dbyer-med* lit. devoid of difference) difference, distinction, *ạbye-ba*, P. and Imp. *bye* to open (vb. intr.), to divide, to separate, *dbye-ba* parting, partition, division, distinction, section, part, class, species, kind, while in Kachin we have *šă-byet* to separate into bundles, to make up into lots,

[1] This has already been very clearly stated by Karlgren, "Word Families in Chinese," *Bull. of the Mus. of Far Eastern Antiquities*, No. 5, Stockholm, 1934, p. 9, quoted hereinafter as K.WF.

[2] See, for instance, Dragunov, *OLZ.*, 1931, Sp., 1088–1089.

kă-čyan, *lă-čyan* to divide, to deal out, to allot, to apportion, *gin-čyan* to divide, to exchange, *čyen* half, *a-čyen* band, shred, strip, *lă-ǰen* to divide equally, to apportion, to distribute, *mă-ǰen* (a cutting) a clearing, *ǰe* to tear apart, to rend asunder, to separate, to cut off, (*mă-ǰen ǰe* to make (lit. to cut) a clearing (*mă-ǰen*)), *p̔ye* to allot, to assign, to parcel out.

There is a temptation here to equate Tibetan *p̔yed* half, with Kachin *čyen* half, and, indeed, if we were working with single words this is probably just what we should do. Following this, we should probably look for other examples of this supposed *-d* : *-n* equivalence in finals. But this would be completely wrong, and the results, on such an assumption, entirely without value, for what has happened here is that Tibetan has taken one member of the family to specialize into the meaning of " half " while Kachin has selected an entirely different member for a similar purpose. Tibetan *p̔yed* evidently belongs on the Kachin side most closely with *šă-byet*, while Kachin *čyen* must be regarded as having its nearest Tibetan relative in *dbyen-pa*.[1] But in dealing with single words we should probably never have arrived at this conclusion. Meaning must not be overemphasized at the expense of form. We can only get the correct perspective from the family as a whole, not from the individual members of the family.

From this instance alone, then—and there are hundreds of others of exactly similar type—we have clearly set before us the fact that before we can safely do anything in the way of equating single words with one another we must first be able to see as a whole the families to which the words in the proposed equation belong. Only after we have been enabled thus to understand, at least in part, how their members have been moving around within their own families, specializing their senses and changing their forms, can we ever really first propose with any safety anything in the way of equations

[1] For the Chinese connections here see K.WF.; H. 26–44, and *JRAS.*, 1936, pp. 415–416.

between single members. In the sequel we shall adduce a certain number of representative families, but before entering upon this phase it may be well first to consider certain well-known facts setting limits to their assembly.

In the first place, as first clearly stated, I believe, by Simon,[1] Tibetan word families remain very true to their own single type of final, viz. guttural, dental, or labial, as the case may be, and it is impossible—except in certain peculiar cases, each of which requires its own special treatment—to establish anything in the nature of families with mixed finals.[2] This is a particularly valuable guide in instances where words without finals have obvious relatives with them, such, for instance, as *ạk̔ra-ba* and *mk̔ran-ba* or *ạk̔ran-ba* hard, *bka* and *skad* speech, *sna* nose and *snam-pa* or *snom-pa* [3] to smell, for when once an open syllable form can be shown to have a definite relative in some particular class of final, say the guttural, there can be no turning back, and we must look with extreme suspicion, to say the least, upon any form which would lead us over also into a second, and unrelated, class of final. When, for instance, *ạgyu-ba*, P. *ạgyus* to move quickly, *ạk̔yu-ba*, P. *ạk̔yus* to run, *dkyu-ba* to run a race, lead us by means of *rgyug-pa*, P. *brgyugs*, F. *brgyug*, to run, to hasten, and *ạk̔yug-pa*, P. *k̔yug* to run, to dart along rapidly (as fish), into the guttural final type, we cannot possibly include *ạk̔yam-pa* to run about, to

[1] "Tibetisch-Chinesische Wortgleichungen," *Mit. d Seminars f. Orient. Spr.*, Bd. xxxii (1929), Berlin, 1930, Abt. I, p. 162. This work I shall hereinafter quote as "Wortgl."

[2] Assimilation is sometimes clearly the cause of an aberrant final. A well-known example is *mdzub-mo* thumb, beside *mdzug-gu*, in a family with guttural finals (cf. "Language", *JLSA.*, iv (1928), p. 278 (No. 4)). There can be but small doubt here that *mdzub* owes its final *-b* to the influence of the following suffix. At other times associative interference has probably been at work, but the forces involved are obscure and each case will need special treatment by itself.

[3] With these, Simon (Wortgl., p. 162) would include *snabs* mucus, which gives us a good example of how assemblies uncontrolled by families in related languages may go astray, even under the best of judgment. *snabs*, we shall see below (No. 33) belongs with another family entirely, but from Tibetan alone this would never be apparent.

wander, and its relatives in final *-m*, even if the vowel alternation *u* ∼ *a* ∼ *o* were possible, which, in Tibetan, it almost certainly is not. This, in fact, is one principle which we must with considerable certainty rigidly enforce.

It must naturally be understood here that we are not speaking of anything but the older and more stable Tibeto-Burman languages, for, in some late dialects and in spoken Burmese, the finals have been converted into others of unrelated classes in an enormous number of cases. To see, then, into this problem with a greater feeling of certainty we shall be obliged, when extending our field beyond Tibetan itself, to select some other language or languages differing from it in sufficient degree to give us an idea of the direction in which development has proceeded, but yet which does not depart from the original stability of its finals by classes. For present purposes we will here take Kachin which stands sufficiently close to Tibetan to give us a great many families in common, while at the same time standing in relation to it in the matter of final consonants very much as does Archaic Chinese in the families put together by Karlgren. Of this we shall discuss the possible significance later, taking here the following selection of word families [1] common to Tibetan and Kachin.

Guttural Finals

(1) [2] T. *agug(s)-pa*, P. *bgug*, F. *dgug*, Imp. *k'ug* to bend, to make crooked, *kug*, *kug-kug* crooked, a hook, *k'ug*, *k'ugs* corner, concave angle, nook, creek, bay, gulf, cove, *k'ug-ma* pouch, small bag, *gug-ge-ba* bent.

K. *guk* to be bent, to be curved, *dă-guk* curve-horned, *nuk* to bow, to incline the head, *tin-kun* bent, to be bent, *gu* to be bent, to be curved, *a-gu* bent, humped, *lă-gu* to hang down, to droop, *ṅu* to bow, to incline the head, *kă-nu* to be bent, to be bowed down, to hang the head.

[1] The entries, as far as possible, follow the order *-g*, *-ṅ*, -O; *-b*, *-m*, -O; *-d*, *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, *-s*, -O. The assemblies must not be regarded as necessarily correct in all particulars. In some cases there are other possible alignments which I have indicated in the footnotes.

[2] Cf. K.WF., A. 266–275.

(2)[1] T. *ạgog-pa*, P. *bkog*, Imp. *k̒og* to peel, to tear off, to remove by force, to pull off, *kog-pa* (vb. neut.) to peel, to splinter off, to scale off, to fall off in chunks, *kog-pa*, *skog-pa*, *skogs-pa* peel, rind, bark, shell, *gog-pa* to crumble off, to scale off (as plaster), *gog-po* dilapidated, ruinous, *ko-ba* hide, skin, leather.

K. *gâ* to peel, to skin, to flay.

(3)[2] T. *kyog*, *kyog-po* crooked, bent, winding, *kyag-kyog* curved, crooked, *k̒yog-po*, *ạk̒yog-po* crooked, curved, bent, *skyog-pa* to turn (as the neck), *skyogs* scoop, ladle, drinking cup, bowl, goblet, *gyog-pa* curved, crooked.

K. *k̒yâk* (crooked surface) to be sunken, to be concave, to be depressed, *lă-k̒yâk* hole, depression, concavity, *gyâk* to be concave, to be cup-shaped, *lă-gyâk* shallow hole, depression, to be full of concave holes (as a road), *lă-gyâ* to be contracted, to be crooked (as a paralysed limb).

(4) T. *bkrag* brightness, lustre, beautiful appearance or colour, *bkra-ba* glory, beautiful, fine, well, of good appearance.

K. *k̒rak* to be good, *grak* to be beautiful, fine, or good, beautiful, fine, well.

(5)[3] T. *nag* speech, talk, word, *mṅag-pa*, P. *mnags* to commission, to charge, to delegate, *sṅag(s)-pa*, P. *bsnags*, F. *bsnag*, Imp. *snog* to praise, to commend, to extol, to recommend, *sṅags* incantation, *sṅo-ba*, P. *bsnos*, F. *bsno*, Imp. *sṅos* to bless, to pronounce a benediction upon, to dedicate, *bsṅo-ba* a blessing, a benediction, *na-ro* loud voice, cry.

K. *ṅa* to say, to speak, to tell, to relate.

(6)[4] T. *gčog-pa*, P. *bčag*, Imp. *čog(s)* to break, to smash, to crack, to split, *ạčag-pa*, P. *čag(s)* to be broken, to be smashed, to be cut off, *čogs-pa* to be broken, *ạčag-pa*, *ạčeg-pa*, P. *bšags*, F. *bšag*, Imp. *šog* to cut, to split, to cleave, *ạčog* (cutting off :) wall, partition, *čag-čag*, *čag-pa* ("breaking" the lips :) smacking the lips (in eating), *ạǰog-pa*, P. *(b)žogs*, F. *gžog*, Imp.

[1] Cf. K.WF., A. 35–7, 330–1.
[2] Cf. K.WF., A. 266–275.
[3] Cf. K.WF., A. 27–8 ?
[4] Cf. K.WF., B. 150–189.

žog to cut, to chop, to hew, to chip, *lčag* rod, switch, whip, stick, strike, cut, blow, hit, *ạtsog-pa*, P. *btsags*, F. *btsog*, Imp. *tsog* to hew, to chop, to cut, to pierce, to cudgel; (also *mtsog-pa*) to find fault with, to blame, to censure, to tease, *mtsog-ma* (cleft:) fontanel, *gšog-pa*, *bšog-pa*, *gšag-pa*, *gšeg-pa*, *ạčegs-pa*, P. *gšags*, *bšags*, F. *gšag*, *bšag*, Imp. *gšog* to cleave, to split, to break open, to break through, to rend, to tear, *bžag-pa* to tear, to wear (of clothes), to burst, to crack, to split (vb. intr.), *šag-ma* (broken up:) gravel, pebbles, small stones.

K. *tâk* to be broken, to be snapped in two, *kă-tâk* to break (vb. tr.), to smash, *tek* to snap, to break, *kă-tek* ("break" the fingers.) to snap the fingers, *a-tek*, *lă-tek*, id.

(7)[1] T. *ạdzugs-pa*, *zug-pa*, P. *btsugs*, *zugs*, F. *gzugs*, Imp. *zug*(*s*) to insert young plants into the ground, to plant, to erect (as a pillar by setting it into the ground), to prick, to stick into, to thrust into, to pierce, to penetrate, to bore, to sting, *ạtsugs-pa*, P. *tsugs* to go into, to enter, to bore into, to take root in, *mdzug-gu* (also *mdzub-mo*) (inset:) finger, toe, claw, *ạǰug-pa*, P. *bčug*, F. *gžug*, Imp. *čug* to put into, to insert, to inject, *ạǰug-pa*, to be combined with, to have added to, to go in, to walk in, to enter.

K. *čyâk* to pierce, to be pierced, to be run through (as with a spear), *a-čyâ* to prod, to goad, to thrust, to prick.

(8)[2] T. *gtsan-ba* to be clean, to be pure, cleanness, purity, clean, pure, *gtsaṅ* clean, pure, *ạtsan-ba*, P. *saṅs* to make clean, to remove impurities, to take away, to remove, *tsans* purified, clean, pure, *san-ba*, P. (*b*)*sans*, F. (*b*)*san* to clear away, to remove dirt, to cleanse, *seṅ-po*, *bsen-po* clean, white.

K. *sen* to be clean, to be pure, to clean, to clear away, clear space, a clearing, *tsen* to remove, to clear away, *tsân* to remove, to clear away, to put away, to drive away, to banish.

(9)[3] T. *gtug-pa*, P. *gtugs* to reach, to touch, to come up to, to overtake, to meet with, to join, *btug-pa* id., *tug-pa* to

[1] Related to No. 50 with dental finals. Cf. K.WF., B. 20–5.
[2] Cf. K.WF., B. 295–301.
[3] Cf. K.WF., B. 112–128, 569–571. Cf. No. 10 inf.

reach, to arrive at, to come to, to meet, to light upon; > col.: to touch, to hit, to strike against, *t̔ug* until, to, *rdug-pa*, P. *brdugs*, F. *brdug* to strike against, to stumble over, *rdun-ba*, P. *brduṅs*, F. *brdun*, Imp. (*b*)*rduṅ*(*s*) to beat, to strike, to cudgel, to hammer, to pound, to thrash, *bdun-ba* id.

K. *t̔uk* to hit against, to come in contact with, to come close up to, to reach, to attain, to arrive at or in, until, as far as, up to, *kă-t̔uk* to hit against, to collide with, *t̔u* to pound, to hammer, to pulverize, *a-t̔u* to hit, to strike, to kick against.

(10) [1] T. *t̔ogs-pa* to strike, to stumble, to run against, *rdeg*(*s*)-*pa*, P. (*b*)*rdegs*, F. *brdeg*, Imp. (*b*)*rdeg*(*s*) to beat, to strike, to knock, to kick, *mt̔o-ba* a hammer.

K. *t̔âk* to touch lightly, *kă-t̔âk* id., *a-t̔âk* to touch, to strike lightly, to tap.

(11) [2] T. *ạt̔egs-pa* to lift up, to raise up, (mounted) to set out on a journey, *t̔eg-pa* to lift, to raise, to hold up, to support, vehicle, carriage, riding animal, *ạdeg*(*s*)-*pa*, P. *bteg*(*s*), F. *gdeg*, Imp. *t̔eg* to lift, to raise, to elevate, to support, *t̔og* (uppermost part:) top, roof, *t̔og-ma* summit, upper end, uppermost place, origin, source, beginning, *tog* top, top ornament, *ltag* above, over, *ltag-pa* upper place, upper part, back of the neck (i.e. top of the back), back ("top") of a knife.

K. *t̔âk* to brace, to prop up, *t̔ek* to rise, to get up.

(12) [3] T. *p̔uṅ-po* a heap, a pile, a mass, *spun-ba*, P. and Imp. *spuṅs* to heap up, to pile up, to accumulate, to amass, *dpuṅ* host, a great number, troops, army, *buns* mass, heap, bulk.

K. *p̔uṅ* gathering, assembly, congregation, flock, herd, *p̔ân* to gather, to congregate, to assemble, *ǰă-p̔ân* to collect, to cause to congregate, *n-p̔ân* a clump, a cluster, *mă-p̔ân* a clump, a cluster, *bân* to confer with, to consult, to hold council, *p̔â* to mix, to mingle, *să-p̔â* to consult, to confer, to hold council, *bâ* to pack, to get one's goods together.

[1] Cf. K.WF., B. 112–128, 569–571, and cf. No. 9 sup.

[2] Cf. K.WF., B. 64–84.

[3] Cf. K.WF., D. 188.

(13) T. *ạbyug-pa*, P. and Imp. *byugs* to stroke, to pat, to tap lightly.

K. *a-p̓uk* to tap, to pat, *gŭm-p̓uk* to tap, to pat.

(14) [1] T. *ạbug(s)-pa*, *ạbig(s)-pa*, P. *p̓ug*, *p̓igs*, F. *dbug*, *dbig*, Imp. *p̓ug*, *p̓ig(s)* to sting, to pierce, to bore, to make a hole, to break into, to break open, *sbug-pa* id , *p̓ug-pa*, *p̓ig-pa* = *ạbug(s)-pa*, *ạbig(s)-pa*, *p̓ug-pa* cave, cavern, *p̓ug(s)* innermost part, inmost apartment, *sbug(s)* (more frequently *sbubs*) hollow, cavity, excavation, recess, interior space, *sbug-po* hollow, *ạbug* awl, chisel, punch, *bug-pa*, *bu-ga* hole, orifice, aperture, *bu-gu* hole, *sbu-gu* hollow, tubular cavity (as in plant stems).

K. *pầk* hole, cavity, *kă-pầk* to dig out, to hollow out.

(15) [2] T. *ạp̓og-pa*, P. *p̓og* to hit, to strike, to touch, to meet.

K. *p̓ầk* to hit with a thud, to whack.

(16) [3] T. *smag* dark, darkness, *mog-pa* dark-coloured, *rmon-ba*, P. *rmons* to be obscured, *rmon-ba* obscurity, obscured.

K. *mần* to rise in a cloud (as dust or smoke), *kă-mần*, *gă-mần* id., *šă-mầṅ* to stir up dust, to spread defamatory reports, *lă-mầ* to be black, to be dark, to be shaded, *n-mầ* to be stained, to be soiled.

(17) [3] T. *rmugs-pa* dense fog, languor, languid, *smug-pa* fog, *smug-po* dark bay, cherry brown, purple brown, *mug-pa* overcast, troubled (of the mind: *yid mug-pa* to despair), *rmu-ba* dullness, heaviness, fog.

K. *muk* to be sullen, to be sulky, to be sour-tempered, *mun* to be sullen, to be sulky, to be cloudy, to be overcast, to be dull, *mu* to be cloudy, to be overcast.

(18) [4] T. *mig*, old form, *dmyig* eye.

K. *myi*, *a-myi* eye.

(19) T. *min*, old form *myin* name.

K. *myiṅ* to name, *a-myin* a name.

[1] Cf K.WF., D. 62–71 ?
[2] Cf. K.WF., D. 89–94.
[3] Cf. K.WF., D. 1–23, 24–7.
[4] Cf. K.WF., D. 60–1.

Labial Finals

(20)[1] T. *ạgebs-pa*, P. *bkab*, F. *dgab*, Imp. *k̔ob* to cover, to spread over, to put on, to protect, *sgab-pa* id., *gab-pa* to hide, to conceal oneself, *ạgab-pa* (cover one's actions :) to be cautious, to take care, *ạk̔eb-pa*, P. *k̔ebs* to cover, to spread over, *k̔ebs*, *k̔yebs* covering, coverlet, *skyob-pa*, P. *(b)skyabs*, F. *bskyab*, Imp. *skyob(s)* to protect, to defend, to preserve, to save, *skyabs* protection, defence, *skyobs* help, assistance.

K. *gap* to cover, (put up a covering :) to build a house, to pitch a tent, *dă-gap* to cover (especially with something wide and flat), *mă-gap* a cover, a lid, to cover, *lă-gap* (coverer :) one who brings up the rear of a Kachin army, *ťin-gap* a cover, a lid, *kȧp*, *a-kȧp* (covering :) crust, rind, shell, *mă-kȧp*, *mă-nȧp* to cover, to shield, to defend, defender, defence, protection, *k̔iṅ-kȧp* a sheath (usually of bamboo), *gup* to be covered, to be doubled over, *gup*, *n-gup* (coverer :) mouth, *k̔a-gup* a hat (*k̔a-gup gup* to wear a hat), *kă-gup*, *lă-gup* a hat, *dă-gup* to cover, to envelop, *mă-gup* (all-embracing :) every, all, *n-kup* (cover :) to turn over, to fold over, *šă-gup* to fold over, to double over, *kă-yȧp* to wrap up, to cover, to encase, *yȧp* to be wrapped around, to be wound around.

(21) T. *skum-pa*, P. *bskums*, F. *bskum*, Imp. *skum(s)* to contract, to draw in, to crook, to bend, *kum-pa*, *kum-po*, *kum-kum* crooked, shrivelled, *ạk̔um-pa*, P. *k̔ums* to shrink, to be contracted, *k̔ums-pa* crooked.

K. *gum* to bow, to bend forward, to make obeisance, *n-gum* to bend forward, to be flat on the face, *n-num* to bend forward, *dă-gum* bent, curved, concave, arched, *šă-gum* bent, curved, concave, arched, to lie prone, to lie on the face, *mă-gum* the ridge or comb of a house, *mă-kum* a ridge, *n-nup* to bend forward, *dă-gup* to bow low, to sit or kneel with the face towards the ground, to make obeisance.

(22)[2] T. *bgom-pa*, P. *bgams* to walk, to step, to stride, *gom-pa* a pace, a step.

[1] Cf. K.WF., I, 1–20.

[2] The underlying sense here may be one of "succession" or "series" (of events or actions). Cf. Lepcha *góm*, *a-góm* series, chain, train, continuity, whence: *ťoṅ góm* a step, a stride (lit. foot (*ťoṅ*) step), *a-dyaṅ góm* a step, a pace (lit. foot (*a-dyaṅ*) step), *kă-góm* a stride.

K. *n-gam* a step, a notch (of a ladder), *lă-ḱam* to step, a step, a pace, *ḱàm* to walk, to travel.

(23) T. *ạgrib-pa* to grow less, to decrease, to diminish, to grow dim, to become dark, *sgrib-pa*, P. *bsgribs*, F. *bsgrib*, Imp. *sgrib(s)* to darken, to obscure, *sgrib-pa* darkened, dark, obscured, (mental darkness :) sin, *grib* shade, shadow, filth, defilement, contamination, *srib-pa* to grow dark, to become dusk, *srib(s)* darkness, gloom, night, shady side, north side, *rab-rib* (> col. *hrab-hrib*) (lessened visibility :) mist, dimness.

K. *krip* to diminish, to subside, to become less, to die down (as a fire), *šă-krip* (take down :) to humble, to punish.

(24) T. *sgrim-pa*, P. *bsgrims*, F. *bsgrim*, Imp. *sgrim(s)* to hold fast, to force together, to twist together, *ḱrims* moral law, custom, duty, precept, rule (i.e. restrictions or prohibitions restraining one's actions).

K. *ḱrim* to act in unison, all at once, with one accord, *grim* to act in unison, *ḱrip* to act in unison, *a-ḱrip* unison, concord, unity, harmony, agreement, *lă-ḱrip* to keep step.

(25) T. *ạgrum-pa* to pinch off, to nip off, to prune, to lop off, to clip, *dkrum* broken, *grum-pa* lame, crippled, *hrum-pa* to break, to smash, *ạḱrums* (torn :) carcass, game torn by wild beasts, *skrum*, *srum* (carved off :) meat (as food).

K. *krum* to trim, to prune, to lop off.

(26) T. *ạgrem(s)-pa*, P. *bkram*, F. *dgram*, Imp. *ḱroms* to put in order, to lay out, to spread out together, to place together (as articles for sale), *ḱrom* market-place (where objects are laid out together for sale), crowd, assemblage, gathering.

K. *ḱram* to spread out (as a trailing plant on the ground), to become bushy (as trees), *ḱram* (the spreader :) hamadryad, *ǰă-ḱram* to widen, to spread, to attain full size, *ḱrem* to be side by side, to be in line, *lă-ḱrem* to come up beside, to edge up to, *n-ḱrem* side of the body, edge or back of a book, *ḱrep* to be in line, to be in a row.

(27) T. *ḱrab-ḱrab* a weeper, one given to tears.

K. *ḱrap* to weep, to cry.

(28) T. *ǎǰum-pa*, P. *bčum*, F. *gžum*, Imp. *čum* to shrink, to contract, to draw in, *ạčum(s)-pa* to shrink, to contract.

K. *čyum* to be puckered up (as the lips), to be drawn up, to be contracted.

(29) [1] T. *ạdzom(s)-pa* to come together, to meet.

K. *čydm* to act together, to act in unison, *ǰdm* to join forces, to co-operate, together, in unison, in company, *kǎ-ǰdm* to gather round, to crowd round (a common centre), *čyå* to be joined, to be united, to be fitted together, to be related (as by family ties), *šǎ-čyå* to fit together, to adjust one thing to another, *šın-čyå* to tie together, to bind up together, *mǎ-čyå* (meeting place :) socket, vulva, *ǰå* to be collected together, to be massed together, *mǎ-ǰå* to gather together, to tie together, top-knot, *n-ǰå* top-knot.

(30) T. *ńams-pa* injured, damaged, spoiled, impaired, stained.

K. *nyam* to be decayed, *čyǎ-nyam* decayed, crumbling, to be decayed, *nydm* to be decayed, *čyǎ-nydm* weak, failing, tottering, *nydp* to be decayed, to be crumbling, to be broken down.

(31) [2] T. *sdeb-pa*, P. *bsdebs*, F. *bsdeb*, Imp. *sdebs* to join, to unite, to put together, to mix, *ldeb-pa* to bend back, to double down, *deb-ma* poultice, application, *lteb-pa* to double down, to bend back, *ťebs* (put together :) series, succession, *ạťeb* (added member :) surplus, extra, supernumerary, *ltab-pa*, P. *bltabs*, F. *bltab*, Imp. *ltob* to fold, gather, or lay together, *ạdab-ma* flat board, wing, petal, leaf, fan, flag, *ạdabs* side, surface.

K. *ťep* to be close together, to be near, *kǎ-ťep* to be close together, to come close up to, *ǰǎ-ťep* to bring close together, *a-ťep* (bring the hands together :) to clap, *tep*, *mǎ-tep* to pinch, to be squeezed together, to be fastened together, *dep* to be close, to be crowded together, *šin-dep* to be or act in unison, co-operation, *ťap* layer, stratum, lamina, *kǎ-ťap* to add, to superimpose, again and again, repeatedly.

[1] Cf. K.WF., K. 79–84. [2] Cf. K.WF., K. 16–19.

(32) T. *gtam(s)-pa* full, *ltam(s)-pa*, P. *bltams*, F. *bltam* to be full, *ltem-pa* full, overflowing, *tam-pa* full, complete, *tem-pa* to be full, to be complete, to be finished, *ạtems-pa* to be sufficient, to suffice.

K. *tâm* to have completed, to have finished, *šă-tâm* to finish, to complete.

(33) T. *snabs* mucus, discharge from the nose.

K.[1] *nep* mucus, discharge from the nose, *a-nep* id., *nyep* to be soft, mucus, *nyap* to be soft and paste-like, *a-nyap* soft, sticky, viscous, *mă-nyap* soft, moist, spongy, *nya* to be soft, to be pliable, *šă-nya* to soften, to make soft, *čyă-nya* soft, flabby.

(34) [2] T. *snub-pa*, P. *bsnubs*, F. *bsnub*, Imp. *snub(s)* to cause to perish, to suppress, to annul, to destroy, to abolish, to abrogate, *nub-pa* to fall gradually, to sink, to decay, to decline (as religion), to set (of sun and moon), *nub-mo* evening, *nub* the west, evening.

K. *nip* to cast a shadow, to be overcast, *šă-nip*, *šin-nip*, *čyă-nyip* shade, shadow.

(35) T. *nom-pa*, P. *noms* to seize, to grasp, to lay hold of, *snom-pa*, P. *bsnams*, F. *bsnam* to take, to seize, to grasp, to take up.

K. *nâm* to be enclosed, to be housed, to be comprised in, to be held or contained in, *kă-nâm*, *gă-nâm* to gather, to amass, to collect, to hoard.

(36) T. *ạṕam-pa*, P. *ṕam* to be beaten, to be conquered, to be overcome, to be deprived of power to act (as *bdud* demons).

K. *ṕam* to be numb, to be benumbed, to be without the power of feeling, *kă-ṕam*, *gă-ṕam*, id.

(37) [3] T. *ạṕrab* a fluttering movement (as in *ạṕrab byed-pa* to flutter (of a wounded bird)).

[1] On the Kachin side it is possible that *nya*, *šă-nya*, and *čyă-nya* belong with T. *mńen-pa* flexible, pliant, supple, soft, as their final affinities are uncertain. Cf. Burmese *ńan*.

[2] Cf. K.WF., K. 87–90 ?

[3] Also (?): *ạṕra-va*, P. *ạṕras* to kick, to jerk (as the legs); *pra-ba*, id.; *ạṕras-pa* stroke, blow, kick.

K. *p̔rap* to flutter, to flicker, to flash, *n-p̔rap* lightning, *kă-p̔rap* to blink (as the eyes), to flutter (as wings), to move back and forth (as animals their ears), *kă-prap*, *prap* to flash (as lightning or a mirror).

From this selection of families in guttural and labial finals we see that the allowable alternations include only *-g* (> K. *-k*) ~ *-ṅ* ~ -O, and *-b* (> K. *-p*) ~ *-m* ~ -O, a fact which we shall have to bear well in mind when dealing with the families in dental finals, where the range is considerably wider, as is exemplified in the following cases.

Dental Finals

(38)[1] T. *mgur* (bending part :) neck, throat, *dgur*, *rgur*, *sgur* crooked, *mgul* neck, throat, *dgu-ba* to bend, to make crooked, bow, inflection, bent, stooping.

K. *kun*, *tin-kun* to be bent, to be curved, *t̔in-kun* to bend, to be pliable, to wriggle, to twist, *šin-kun* (assume a bending position :) to crouch down, to prowl, *mă-kun* to crouch down, *ku* to be bent, to be curved.

(39)[2] T. *rkod-pa*, P. *(b)rkos*, F. *brko*, Imp. *rkos* to dig, to dig out, to hoe, to engrave, *rkon-pa*, *skon-pa* (scooped out :) basket, *rko-pa* = *rkod-pa*.

K. *gât* to be scooped out, *dă-gât* to scoop out, to ladle out, *šă-gât* to scoop up with the hand, *lă-gât* to scoop, a scoop, a small shovel, *n-gât* tray, shallow bamboo basket, *mă-gân* to scoop up, to collect into a heap, *n-gân* bamboo spade (used for digging graves), *gân* to be sunken, to be concave, *dın-gân* to undulate (as waves).

(40) T.[3] *rkun-ma* thief, theft, *rku-ba*, P. *(b)rkus*, F. *brku*, Imp. *rkus* to steal, to rob.

K. *k̔ut* to rob, *lă-gut* thief, robber, *lă-gu* to steal.

(41) T. *skar-ma* star, constellation.

K. *śă-gan* star, meteor.

(42) [1] T. *skad-pa* to say, to tell, to relate, to name, to call, *skad* voice, speech, language, talk, words, *bka* word, speech, *sgo-ba*, P. *bsgo* to say, to bid, to order, *sko-ba*, P. *(b)skos* F. *bsko*, Imp. *skos* to appoint, to nominate, to name, to commission.

K. *ga* word, speech, language, *a-ga* word, instruction, command, order, *śă-ga* to call, to summon.

(43) [2] T. *ạk̄yil-ba* to be twisted, to be winding, to be spiral, *skyil-ba*, P. and F. *bskyil* to bend, to make crooked, (encircling :) to pen up, to shut up or in, to dam up (also > to retain, to detain).

K. *kyit* to girdle, to gird, to tie round, *śiṅ-kyit* belt, girdle, sash, *mă-kyit* to tie, to make a knot, *gyit* to tie up, to bind together, *a-kyin* to roll into a ball, to make round, *kyin* a package, a bundle, *kă-k̄yin* to gather (lit. roll) into a heap, *gyin* to roll into ball form, to make pellet-shaped, *śin-gyin* to roll together, pellet, shot, *śă-gyin* ("belt" in :) to tighten a belt, to shorten a strap, *n-gyin*, *kum-gyin* (roll-shaped :) cucumber, *yin* to be turned around, to encompass, to make a circuit, *kă-yin* to turn around, to rotate, *din-yin* to be dizzy, to be giddy, *lă-yin* a four-armed reel for reeling yarn, *gyi* to be curved, to be crinkled, *mă-gyi* to be curled, to be spiral, to be kinked, *tin-gyi* id., *n-gyi* (circular form :) a picture of the sun.

(44) [3] T. *bgrad-pa* to scratch, to scrape, *hrad-pa* to scratch, *ạbrad-pa*, *ạdrad-pa*, P. *brad*, Imp. *brod* to scratch, to scrape, to gnaw, to nibble at, *sbrad-pa*, *dbrad-pa* = *ạbrad-pa*.

K. *gret* to graze (as a bullet), *a-gret* to scratch (as a thorn), to graze (as a bullet), *din-gret* to touch, to rub against, to graze, *kret* to gnaw, gnawing, *mă-kret* to gnaw, *k̄ret* to rasp, to grate, *a-k̄ret* to gnaw, *mă-kret* (scratching :) to draw a line, to rule,

[1] Cf. K.WF., E. 138–144.

[2] See *JRAS*, 1936, p. 408. Jäschke (Dic., p. 358) notes *ạp̄yil-ba* to wind, to twist, as a form of *ạk̄yil-ba*. Note, however, K. *p̄yin* to go round, to encircle, windlass, capstan.

[3] Cf. K.WF., G. 24–34 ?

to strike a match, a ruler, *pret* to rasp, to grate, *n-p̓rat* to strike a match, to strike fire (as with flint and steel), *bret* rasping noise (as when tearing silk), *mă-ret* to scratch, to lacerate, *rat* to scratch, to wound, to lacerate, to cut, *a-p̓re, a-p̓ri* to scratch, to dig (as with claws or fingers).

(45) [1] T. *ạk̓rud-pa*, P. *bkrus*, F. *bkru* to wash (as *gos* clothes), to bathe (as *k̓a-lag* face and hands), *k̓rus* bath, washing, ablution, *ạk̓ru-ba* = *ạk̓rud-pa*.

K. *k̓rut* to wash (as clothing, or *buṅ* (< *pun*) the head).

(46) T. *sred-pa* to desire, to wish for, desire, wish, *ạk̓ren-pa* to wish, to desire, to long for.

K. *mă-rit* to desire, to long for, to hanker after, *mă-rin* to be covetous, to be avaricious, to be greedy.

(47) T. *ạgril-ba*, P. *gril* to be twisted, to be wrapped round, to be rounded, to be turned, *sgril-ba*, P. and F. *bsgril* (vb. tr.) to wind round, to wrap round, to wrap up, to wind up, *ạk̓ril-ba* (vb. intr.) to wind round, to coil, to embrace, to clasp, *gril* a roll, *hril-po* round, globular, *ạdril-ba*, P. *dril* to be turned round, to be rolled round, to be twisted, to wrap up, *ril-ba, ril-po, ril-mo* round, globular, cylindrical, *dkri-ba* to wind, to wind up, *ạk̓ri-ba* to wind, to roll, to twist, *sri-ba* to wind round, to wrap round.

K. *rit* to twist, to wind, to twine, *tă-rin* to roll, to be rolled, *kri* to revolve, to spin, *mă-k̓ri* a braid, *k̓ri* to braid, *šin-ri, sum-ri* a cord, a rope, *ri* thread, string, cord.

(48) T. *blud* release, ransom, *blus-ma* anything ransomed, *blu-ba*, P. *blus* to ransom.

K. *lât* to get loose, to escape, to become free, *šă-lât* to liberate, to set free, *n-lât, šan-lât* freedman, escaped prisoner, *mă-lâ* to loosen, to become loose.

(49) T. *ṅur-ba* to grunt (as pigs or yaks), *snur-ba* to snore.

K. *ṅut* to grunt (as a pig), *nun* to growl, to grumble, to murmur, *a-ṅun* grumbling, growling.

(50) [2] T. *ạtsud-pa*, P. *tsud* to be put into, to go into, to enter,

[1] Cf. K.WF., E. 238–246.

[2] Related to No. 7 with guttural finals.

čud-pa id., *ạdzud-pa*, P. *btsud*, *zud*, Imp. *tsud* to put into, to lay in, *ạǰud-pa* id., *ạdzu-ba*, P. *ạdzus*, to enter, to go in.

K. *ǰut* to be pierced, *mă-ǰut*, *num-ǰut* to pierce, to thrust in, *šă-ǰut* to pierce, to thrust through, *ǰu* to prick, to be pricked, thorn, bramble, spike, *a-ǰu* thorn, bramble, spike, to prick.

(51) T. *ạǰun-pa*, *gčun-pa*, P. *bčun*, F. *gžun* to subdue, to make tame, to make soft, *žun-pa* melted, *ạčun-pa* to be tamed, to be subdued, to be made to yield, *ạǰu-ba*, *žu-ba*, *bžu-ba*, P. *bžus*, F. *bžu* to melt, to digest, *ạǰu-ba* digestion.

K. *tun* to dissolve, to melt, *šă-tun* to liquefy, to melt.

(52)[1] T. *mtsan* grandchild, nephew, *btsas-ma*, *rtsas-ma* (brought forth :) harvest, wages, pay, *btsa-ba*, P. *btsas* to bring forth, to bear, to give birth to, *tsa-bo* grandson, *tsa-mo* granddaughter, niece.

K. *ša*, *a-ša* child, son, daughter, nephew, niece, *kă-ša* child, young of animals, *mă-ša* human being, man.

(53)[2] T. *ńed-pa*, P. *brńed*, *brńes*, F. *brńed* to get, to obtain, to meet with, *sńen-pa*, *bsńen-pa* to come near, to go near, to approach, *gńen*, *ńen* relative, kinsman, *gńer-ba* to apply oneself to, to take pains with, to procure, to acquire, *ńe-r* (= *ńe-bar*) near, *ńe-ba* to be near, to approach, *sńe-ba*, P. *bsńes*, F. *bsńe*, Imp. *sńe* to lean against, to lie down on.

K. *ni* to be near, *a-ni* nearness, proximity, to come near, to approach, *šă-ni* to bring near, to put in proximity, *nyē*, *nya* to meet.

(54) T. *gsal-ba* to be clear, to be bright, to be distinct, clear, bright, pure, *sal-le-ba* clear, bright, brilliant, *sel-ba*, P. and F. *bsal*, Imp. *sol* to cleanse, to remove impurities, to clear.

K. *san* to be clear, to be transparent, to be pure, *a-san* clear, clean, pure, *ǰă-san* to clear, to purify, *tsan* to clear, to cleanse.

(55)[3] T. *gzan-pa* to eat, to devour, to gnaw, *bzan* food of

[1] Cf. K.WF., F. 46–7. [2] Cf. K.WF., G. 40–5.

[3] Cf. K.WF., F. 100–102. It is possible that the Tibetan and Kachin families here assembled are distinct and that the only relative that Kachin has in Tibetan is *ša* flesh, meat. The position remains in doubt.

animals, pasture, pasturage, *zan* pap, porridge, fodder, an eater, *ạjan-ba* to swallow, to devour, *zas* food, nourishment, *za-ba*, *bza-ba*, P. *zos*, *bzas*, F. *bza*, Imp. *zo*, *zos* to eat, food, meat, victuals.

K. *śat*, *a-śat* (food :) boiled rice, *n-śat* food supply, *mă-śat* food basket (figurative name), *śan*, *a-śan* flesh, meat, *śa* to eat.

(56) [1] T. *sdud-pa*, P. *bsdus*, F. *bsdu*, Imp. *sdud*, *bsdu* to put together, to join, to unite (others, e.g. *ḱyo-śug-tu* as husband and wife), to marry, to compress, to condense, *sdud* (pressing together :) folds of a garment, *mdud* knot, bow, *dud-pa* to tie, to knot, *ạdun-ma* council, association, assembly, meeting, *mdun* (meeting one :) fore-part, front side, *mdun-ma* wife, *ạdus-pa* assembly, gathering, meeting, *bsdus-pa*, *ạdus-pa* to consist of, to be made up of, *ạdu-ba*, P. *ạdus* to assemble, to come together, to meet, to join one another (e.g. *ḱyo-śug-tu* as husband and wife), to get married, to be pressed or crowded together, *ạdu-ba* assembly, gathering, meeting.

K. *tut* to be joined, to be bound together, to be united, *mă-tut* to connect, to join, to link together, *kă-tut* to meet, to run up against, (urge to meet :) to press on, to push on (towards a goal), *dun* to tie together, to tether, to be connected, to be united, to join, to adhere to.

(57) [2] T. *sdod-pa*, P. and F. *bsdad* to sit, to stay, to remain, to abide, to halt, to come to a stop.

K. *kă-tât* to stumble and fall, *mă-tât* to stub the toe or foot, to kick against an obstruction, *kă-dân* to stumble, to stop abruptly, (of *ga* speech :) to stutter, to stammer, *kă-tâ*, *gă-tâ* = *kă-tât*.

(58) [3] T. *mton-po* high, elevated, *mtos* high, elevated, *mto-ba* to be high, height, high, elevated.

K. *kă-tan* to bound up (as a ball), to leap (as a frog), *tan* to raise, to put up (as a ladder), *ta* to be above, to be high, to

[1] Cf. K.WF., F. 150–3. [2] Cf. K.WF., F. 243–6.

[3] Cf. K.WF., F. 63–7. It is possible that K. *tsá*, *mă-tsá*, and *śă-tsá* do not belong here, but rather with T. *gtso-bo* highest in perfection, most excellent (of its kind).

rise, *lă-ta* upper, *kă-ta* above, overhead, *mă-tâ* pinnacle, summit, high, elevated, *tâ* (raised:) to transport, to carry, *tsâ* to be high, to be tall, to be lofty, *mă-tsâ* upper regions, celestial heights, *šă-tsâ* to heighten, to raise, to elevate.

(59)[1] T. *ạdrud-pa, ạbrud-pa*, P. and Imp. *drud* to rub, to file, to rasp, to scour, to polish, to smooth, to plane, to drag, to pull along, *bgrud-pa*, P. *bgrus*, F. *bgru* to husk, to shell.

K. *rut* to rub, *a-rut* to rub, to abrade, to erase, *mă-rut* a grater (*mă-rut rut* to grate), *mă-krut* to gnaw, *krut* to snatch away, to pull away forcibly, whetstone, *n-krut* whetstone, *krit* to grind (as *wa* the teeth), *a-rit* to rub off, to pull off (as bark from a tree).

(60)[2] T. *ạdred-pa* to slide, to slip, to glide, *ạdren-pa*, P. *dran*(*s*), F. *dran*, Imp. *droṅ*(*s*) to draw, to drag, to pull, to tear out, to press out, to squeeze out (as pus), to conduct (as water), to lead, to guide, to fetch, to transport.

K. *ret* to be snatched up, *kă-rât, gă-rât* to draw, to drag, to pull, to haul, *să-rât* to drag, to scrape (as the feet), *krân* to be dragged, to be pulled, to be led along, to be conducted, *gă-re* to tear away, to snatch away, to pluck away from.

(61) T. *gnas-pa* to stay, to remain, to dwell, to live at, *gnas* place, spot, abode, dwelling place.

K. *nat* to be fixed, to be held firmly, *mă-nat* to grasp firmly, to hold tightly, *ǰă-nat* for ever, always, constantly, *nan* to stay, to remain, to tarry, to be permanent, *mă-nan* always.

(62) T. *ạbar-ba* to open (of flowers), to bloom, to blossom.

K. *pan, ban, nam-pan* a flower, *lă-pan* (Kauri), id.

(63) T. *ạbar-ba* to burn (intr.), to catch fire, to be ignited, *sbar-ba, sbor-ba*, P. and F. *sbar* to set fire to, to kindle, to light.

K. *lă-wât* cooking place, *wan, a-wan* fire, *wân* (Kauri), id.

(64)[3] T. *ạbud-pa*, P. *bus, p̓u*(*s*), F. *dbu*, Imp. *p̓u*(*s*) to blow (intr. and tr.), to remove by blowing (as chaff), *sbud-pa*

[1] Cf. K.WF., G. 24–34, and No. 60 below.
[2] Cf. No. 59 above.
[3] Cf. K.WF., H. 54–7.

bellows (*sbud ạbud-pa* to blow bellows), *bud* (blown by wind :) a cloud of dust, *spun-pa, sbun-pa* (blown by wind :) chaff, husks, *sbur-ma* = *sbun-pa*, *p̓u* a puff of breath, *pu-ṫse* husks of barley, bran.

K. *wut, kă-wut, gă-wut* to blow, to puff, to blow upon (as a fire), *n-bun* (blown by wind :) dust, *bun* to scatter dust, to sprinkle liquids, *wu* dust, fine ash (*wan wu* fine ashes from a fire (*wan*)), *n-p̓u* dust, *a-p̓u* to scatter dust, to remove dust (as by shaking a garment).

(65) [1] T. *pus-mo* knee.

K. *p̓ut* knee, to kneel, *lă-p̓ut* knee, *p̓un* to cover (as with a blanket), to put on (as a coat), *bu* to put in place, to place upon (as on a shelf).

(66) T. *ạp̓ar-ba* to bound up, to leap up, to fly up (as sparks), *spar-ba, spor-ba*, P. and F. *spar* to lift up, to raise, *ạp̓yar-ba*, Imp. *ạp̓yor*, *p̓yor* to raise, to lift up, to hoist, *ač̓ar-ba*, P. *šar* to rise, to appear, to become visible, (of the sun .) to shine forth, *šar* the east.

K. *n-p̓at* (bring up :) to vomit, *p̓an* to rise, to be raised (as dust by the wind), *kă-p̓an* to be in motion, to be astir (as a crowd).

(67) T. *spel-ba* to augment, to increase, to add to, to multiply, to put together, to spread, to propagate, *ạp̓el-ba*, P. *p̓el* (vb. neut.) to increase, to grow, to become larger, to improve, to grow better, *dpal* glory, splendour, magnificence, abundance, wealth, welfare, *p̓al-pa* (widely distributed :) usual, common.

K. *ǰă-p̓at* (enlarge the mind :) to instruct, to teach, *ǰă-p̓an* id., *šă-pan* to bring up (as a child), to rear, *pan* to be enlarged, to grow, to mature, *p̓an* to be mature, to be developed, to form, to create, to cause to be, *ba* to be big, to be great, to be large, *mă-ba* (great man :) chief, ruler, *kă-ba* big, great, large, *šă-pa* (vb. tr.) to extend, to spread out, to expand, to enlarge, *n-ba* great, big and ferocious.

[1] Cf. K.WF., H. 111–134.

(68)[1] T. *ạbyid-pa*, P. *byid*, *ṗyid* to disappear, to pass away, to make an exit, *dpyid* (time of budding forth:) Spring, *ạbyin-pa*, P. and Imp. *ṗyun*, F. *dbyuṅ* to cause to come forth, to take out, to remove, to draw out, to pull out, to tear out, to produce, to bring to light, to send out, to emit, to shed (*mči-ma ạbyin-pa* to shed tears), to draw (as *ḱrag* blood), to drive out, to turn out, to expel, to throw away, to liberate, to release, *sbyin-pa*, P. and Imp. *byin* to give to, to bestow upon, to hand over to, to deliver over to, *ạbyuṅ-ba*, P. and Imp. *byuṅ* to come out, to emerge, to go to, to proceed to, *ṗyin-pa* to go forth, to proceed, to advance, to come to, to reach, *dpyis* end, conclusion (*dpyis ṗyin-pa* to reach the end), *ạṗyi-ba*, *ạṗyid-pa* to wipe away (*mči-ma ạṗyi-ba* to wipe away tears), to blot out, to pull out, to tear out (as *rlig* the testicles), to remove, *ạbyi-ba*, P. *byi*, *ṗyi*, *ṗyis* to be wiped off, to be blotted out, to be effaced.

K. *ṗyet*, *kă-ṗyet* to vanish, to disappear, *šă-byet* to extort, to take away, to levy (as a fine), *šă-pyen* to throw out, to eject, to drive out, to expel, *pyen* to remove, to strip off.

(69)[2] T. *gšid* funeral, *gšin-po* a dead man, one deceased, *ạči-ba*, *ši-ba*, P. *ši* to die, to disappear (as a flame), to cease, death.

K. *si* to die, to expire, *a-si* death, dead, *čyă-si* dead, a dead person.

(70)[3] T. *gčid-pa*, *gči-ba*, P. *gčis*, F. *gči*, Imp. *gčis* to make water, to urinate (*gčin gčid-pa*, *gčin gči-ba* id.), *gčin* urine.

[1] Cf. K.WF., F. 247–250, H. 141–2. This and the next three families are very confusing. They all appear to belong together at base, as is indicated by the various collocations of the type *mči-ma ạṗyi-ba*, etc., where the families are used together as though one. Probably the form *ạṗyin-pa* liver, of the Berlin Gzer-Myig (v. Francke, *Asia Major*, vol. I, p. 287) is something more than a homophone, and indicates recognized relationship (present in the scribe's mind) between this word and *ạbyin-pa* to tear out, of the present family. See footnote to No. 71.

[2] Cf. K.WF., F. 48–49. See note to No. 68.

[3] Cf. K.WF., F. 147–9 ?. See note to No. 68. The basic idea here seems to be that of "ejection" (ejected matter). *mči-ma* (welling forth:) tears, may belong here. Cf. the Chinese family quoted.

K. *ǰit* urine, *ǰin* vagina, female private parts, *ǰi* to make water, to urinate (*ǰit ǰi* id.).

(71) [1] T. *mčin-pa* liver.

K. *sin, a-sin, mă-sin* liver.

(72) T. *p̓yen, ạp̓yen* wind, flatulence.

K. *p̓yet, a-p̓yet* wind, flatulence.

(73) [2] T. *ạbyed-pa*, P. and Imp. *p̓ye, p̓yed, p̓yes*, F. *dbye* (vb. tr.) to separate, to keep apart, to open, to divide, to distinguish, to pick out, to choose, to select, to classify, *dpyad* an instrument for opening the mouth by force, *p̓yed* (divided :) half, *dbyen-pa* difference, dissension, discord, schism, *ạbyer-ba*, P. and Imp. *byer* (vb. intr.) to disperse, to scatter, to flee in different directions, *dbye-r* (= *dbye-ru* in *dbyer-med*, lit. devoid of difference) difference, distinction, *ạbye-ba*, P. and Imp. *bye* (vb. intr.) to open, to divide, to separate, *dbye-ba* parting, partition, division, distinction, section, part, class, species, kind.

K. *šă-byet* to divide into lots, to do up into separate bundles, *kă-čyan, lă-čyan* to divide, to deal out, to allot, to apportion, *gin-čyan* to divide, to exchange, *čyen* (divided :) half, *a-čyen* band, shred, strip, *lă-ǰen* to divide equally, to apportion, to distribute, *mă-ǰen* a clearing, *ǰe* to tear, to rend asunder, to divide, to separate (as combatants), to cut down (as brush) (*mă-ǰen ǰe* to make (lit. to clear) a clearing (*mă-ǰen*)), *p̓ye* to allot, to assign, to parcel out.

(74) T. *byed-pa*, P. *byas*, F. *bya*, Imp. *byos* to make, to do, to cause, to fabricate, *spyod-pa, spyad-pa*, P. *spyad* to do, to act, to accomplish, *ạčos-pa*, P. *bčos, ạčos*, F. *bčo*, Imp. *čos* to make, to construct, to manufacture, to build, *ạča-ba*, P. *bčas, ạčas*, F. *bča*, Imp. *čos* to make, to prepare, to construct.

K. *čyen* to do (obsolete word), *šă-čyen* to do, to accomplish, to perform, *lă-čyen* work, labour.

(75) T. *ạbral-ba*, P. *bral*, Imp. *brol* to be separated from, to be

[1] See note to No. 68. Possibly the basic meaning here is "that which is torn out" (pointing to very early hepatoscopy in Tibet ?).

[2] Cf. K.WF., H. 26–44.

deprived of, to be parted from, to be bereft of, *brel-ba* to be destitute of, to be without, to be in need of, to be poor, *aṗral-ba*, P. *ṗral*, F. *dbral*, Imp. *ṗrol* (vb. tr.) to separate, to leave, to take away from.

K. *ran* to be apart, to be separated, to be divided, *mă-ran* to separate, to push away, to send away, *šă-ran* to place apart, to put down separately, *pă-ran* to separate, to sort out, *ṗă-ran* to judge, to decide, *kă-ran*, *gă-ran* to divide, to distribute, to apportion, *ra* to be parted, to be separated.

(76) T. *bris* picture, drawing, representation, *bris-ma* written book, *ris* figure, form, design, *ri-mo* figure, picture, painting, drawing, mark, *abri-ba*, P. and Imp. *bris* to write, to draw, to design.

K. *rit* to mark a boundary, to trace a boundary line, *ĵă-rit* boundary line, border, *a-rit* dividing line, *mă-ri* to mark, to rule, to make a line, *tsă-ri* a scribe.

(77) T. *rman-pa* wounded, *dmas-pa* wounded, *rma-ba*, P. *rmas* to wound, *rma* a wound.

K.[1] *n-ma* wound, cut, laceration, scar.

(78) T. *rmod-pa*, P. and F. *rmos* (cut the ground ·) to plough, *rmed-pa* to plough and sow, *rmon-pa* ploughing, *rmo-ba* = *rmod-pa*.

K. *mât*, *mân* to cut, to slice, to shave, to castrate.

(79)[2] T. *mun-pa* obscurity, darkness, obscure, dark, *dmun-pa* darkened, obscured (as *blo* the mind), *rmun-po* dull, heavy, stupid, *rmus-pa* dull, heavy, peevish, listless, foggy, gloomy, dark, *rmu-ba* dullness, heaviness, fog.

K. *mut* to be blue, *a-mut* blue, *čyă-mut* blue, (faded :) shabby, dull, dusky, *mă-mut* bluish, dark (as clouds), *dă-mun* grey.

(80) T. *rud* a fallen or falling mass (of *ḱa-ba* snow : a snow-slip, of *ču* water : a deluge, of *sa* earth : a landslide).

K. *šă-rut* a landslide (*šă-rut ru* to cave in, to slide down,)

[1] Note also K. *mya* to be torn, to be ragged, *a-mya* to tear, to lacerate, to maul, *čyă-mya* torn, ragged. These, however, may belong with T. *dmyal-ba* to cut up.

[2] Cf. K.WF., H 94–110.

gum-rut to slide down, to slip down, *niṅ-rut* to be broken, (fallen in :) ravine, gap, landslide, *ziṅ-rut* pit, pitfall, *rut* to pour out, to spill, *run* to pull down, to tear down, to demolish, to fall down, *šă-run* to demolish, to tear down, to destroy, to remove, to strip off, *ru* to fall, to tumble, to pour down.

The most striking thing that we notice here is that while in Tibetan the guttural and labial final families have only two consonantal finals (*-g* and *-ṅ*; *-b* and *-m*), the dental class has no less than five (*-d*, *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, and *-s*), a fact which puts the dental families at a distinct advantage over the other two. This is, in itself, sufficiently peculiar to suggest a special inquiry into the dental finals to see if they have not undergone in Tibetan some special expansion from an original state where they also possessed only two types, which, by analogy with the other classes, we might suppose were *-d* and *-n*, and which actually exist in this form (*-t* and *-n*) in Kachin.

In this inquiry it seems to me that something may perhaps be deduced from the behaviour of the suffixes *-s* and *-d* with the so-called Perfect roots of verbs. Their occurrence, including the obsolete usages of *-d* with final *-n*, *-r*, and *-l*, may be summarized as follows:—

Suffix.	Guttural Finals.	Labial Finals.	Dental Finals.
-s	(1) *-g*	(1) *-b*	
	(2) *-ṅ*	(2) *-m*	
-d			(2) *-n*, *-r*, *-l*

To begin with, the use of the same suffix (*-d*) after differing finals naturally follows the close relationship in sound between them, and it is, indeed, quite conceivable that *-n*, *-r*, and *-l* may represent simply varieties of one and the same sound, which, in fact, is supported by various developments occurring later in various parts of the Tibeto-Burman field, such as the interchange of *-n* and *-r* and *-n* and *-l* between Kachin and Tibetan,[1] and the similar alternation of *-n* and *-l* in Manipuri,[2]

[1] See above, Nos. 38, 41, 49, 62, 63, 66, and 43, 47, 54, 67, 75.

[2] As e.g. in *čen-ba* ~ *čel-ba* to run, *han* ~ *hal* the causative infix, *kan-ba* ~ *kal-ba* to think, *na-ton* ~ *na-tol* nose, *pun-ba* ~ *pul-ba* to tie,

and of Tibetan *-n* with Manipuri *-l*,[1] and so on. Between Chinese and Tibetan Simon [2] has already proposed a number of *-n* = *-l* equations, on some of which we shall comment a little later.

This, then, would reduce our dental finals to three: *-n*, *-r*, and *-l* in one group, with *-d* and *-s* still standing apart.

Now it is a fact, the significance of which is considerable, that as far back as our knowledge of Tibetan goes, neither *-d* nor *-s* can be attached to *-d* verbs in the "Perfect" tense, but that very frequently *-d* falls out and *-s* occurs in its place, giving the type: *ạbud-pa*, P. *bus* to blow, *byed-pa*, P. *byas* to do, and indeed one receives the distinct impression that here *-s* of the "Perfect" is for older *-ds*, an idea to which support is also lent by the alternation of *-d* and *-s* in the Perfect of one and the same verb, as in *p̓yed* or *p̓yes* (P. of *ạbyed-pa* to open), *brńed* or *brńes* (P. of *rńed-pa* to find), which is a feature of frequent occurrence seeming to indicate older forms **p̓yeds*, **brńeds*, and so on.

I am thus led to restate an idea which I first put forward [3] on general grounds only, and which was afterwards advanced more definitely by Simon,[4] that *-s* as a final in Tibetan in a great number of cases presupposes older *-ds*, which is then the parallel in the dental series of *-gs* and *-bs* among the guttural and labial finals, and in what follows we shall somewhat expand this idea, which indeed finds considerable support

to bind, *sa-gon* ~ *sa-gol* (Beng. *ghōṛā* ?) horse, etc. This *-n* ~ *-l* and also an *-r* ~ *-l* alternation likewise come out strongly in the Bodo and related languages of Assam, notably in Garo, Bâṛâ, and Kachari: G. *pān* ~ *bol* tree, Mikir *in-čin*, G. *šil* iron, G., K. *sān*, G. *sāl* sun, G., K. *šur*, G. *šil* iron, K. *bi-bâr*, G. *pārr*, *bi-bal* flower, K. *bār*, G. *lam-pâr*, *bāl* air, and others. Note also Tibetan *p̓ar* exchange, barter, G., K. *p̓āl* to sell.

[1] As e.g. T. *rgan-pa*, M. *a-hal* old, T. *mt̓on-po* high, M. *ma-tol* summit, etc.

[2] Wortgl., pp. 183–4.

[3] *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, London, 1929, p. 19, n. 1. This will be abbreviated hereafter as "*Outlines*".

[4] Wortgl., p. 185.

when the word families of Tibetan, Kachin, and Chinese are examined together.

Let us now, then, fill in our scheme as follows :—

Suffix.	Guttural Finals.	Labial Finals.	Dental Finals.
-s	(1) *-g*	(1) *-b*	(1) *-d*
	(2) *-ṅ*	(2) *-m*	
-d			(2) *-n*, *-r*, *-l*

We then have our two groups corresponding to the situation in the guttural and labial types.

But we are left, then, if this scheme is complete, without any " final " *-s* in Tibetan. And this, I believe, can be shown with a very high degree of probability to be the case, and that the occurrence of *-s* as a " final " in Tibetan can be ascribed to phenomena which we have already mentioned and which we shall consider in greater detail almost immediately below.

Before, however, passing to this phase of the question, we may profitably turn aside for a moment to inquire how the situation in practice agrees with the proposals so far made.

We have seen already that Kachin has only *-t* and *-n* as dental finals as against Tibetan *-d*, *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, and *-s*. Does, then, Kachin represent an older position in this regard than Tibetan ? *A priori* this does not seem very probable, and yet it is certainly significant that its equipment is just that which we have suggested may have been original to Tibetan before its supposed expansion of the dental series.

Taking first Tibetan *-r* and *-l* we have among the individual families already listed the following representative cases :—

No. 49.	T. *-r* ;	K. *-n* ∼ *-t*
No. 63.	T. *-r* ;	K. *-n* ∼ *-t*
No. 66.	T. *-r* ;	K. *-n* ∼ *-t*
No. 38.	T. *-r* ∼ *-l* ∼ -O ;	K. *-n* ∼ -O
No. 62.	T. *-r* ;	K. *-n*
No. 41.	T. *-r* ;	K. *-n*
No. 43.	T. *-l* ;	K. *-n* ∼ *-t* ∼ -O

No. 47.	T. *-l* ∼ -0 ;	K. *-n* ∼ *-t* ∼ -0
No. 67.	T. *-l* ;	K. *-n* ∼ *-t* ∼ -0
No. 75.	T. *-l* ;	K. *-n* ∼ -0
No. 54.	T. *-l* ;	K. *-n*

which seem, indeed, to give support to the idea that *-r* and *-l* on the Tibetan side represent varieties of *-n*.[1] Phonetically, of course, the close relationship requires no comment, and we have already adduced other concrete instances of the same interchange elsewhere in the Tibeto-Burman family.

We then come again to the question of Tibetan *-s*. Among the word families already listed we have the following cases :—

No. 61.	T. *-s* ;	K. *-t* ∼ *-n*
No. 65.	T. *-s* ;	K. *-t* ∼ *-n* ∼ -0
No. 55.	T. *-s* ∼ *-n* ∼ -0 ;	K. *-t* ∼ *-n* ∼ -0
No. 79.	T. *-s* ∼ *-n* ∼ -0 ;	K. *-t* ∼ *-n*
No. 76.	T. *-s* ∼ -0 ;	K. *-t* ∼ -0

The evidence of cases like these seems, indeed, very straightforward, and what appears to be an equation *-s* : *-t* in the type T. *pus-mo* : K. *ṕut* (No. 65) seems, indeed, to find quite definite support in a number of similar instances which are of particularly frequent occurrence between Tibetan and Lepcha. One thus finds, for instance :—

T. *zas*	L. (*a-*)*zót* pasturage	(K. *šat* (food :) boiled rice)
T. *rus-pa*	L. *a-hrăt* bone	(K. *n-rut*)

[1] It should be noted here that it must have been at a very early time indeed when Tibetan first placed the basic roots of what are now its word families in the final *-n*, and *-r*, and *-l* classes. This is shown by the very great comparative rarity of alternations between *-n* and *-r* in the same family (for examples, see Nos. 53 and 64 in the preceding pages, and *JRAS.*, 1936, p. 415, No. 22, and p. 406), and the almost total absence, so far as I am aware, of *-n* ∼ *-l* and *-r* ∼ *-l* alternations of similar type (for *-r* ∼ *-l* see No. 38, sup.). In other words this move must have taken place while the root was still single and alone, and free of prefixes, which were only added to it in mobile fashion as required (cf. *Outlines*, p. 53). Though at other times families in *-n* and *-r*, *-n* and *-l*, or *-r* and *-l* may approach each other fairly closely in both form and meaning, I do not believe that any such cases involve alternations between these finals. Such families seem to me to be altogether too evidently distinct (v. *JRAS.*, 1936, pp. 407–408, and (for a contrary view), K.WF., p. 96).

T. *pus-mo*	L. *tŭk-pat* knee	(K. *ṗut*)
T. *gñis*	L. *nat* two	
T. *gros*	L. *krut* advice	
T. *bkres*	L. *krít* hunger	
T. *dgos-pa*	L. *gat* to desire	

But the same kind of thing can also be set up between Tibetan and Chineje, as, for instance, in :—

T. *mk̓as-pa* shrewd, wise	Ch. 黠 *ɣạt* wily, cunning	K. *k̓et* to be wily
T. *šes-pa* to know, to understand	Ch. 悉 *sịĕt* to know thoroughly	
T. *bris* picture, drawing	Ch. 筆 *pliĕt* stroke in writing	K. *a-rit* dividing line

and I am strongly of the opinion that all these *-t* forms in Lepcha, Chinese, and Kachin, presuppose a *-d* somewhere in their Tibetan relatives, and that, indeed, the Tibetan words in question almost certainly at one time ended in *-ds*.

To illustrate the consequences of this possibility, I believe, in fact, that we are justified in advancing equations of the following type :—

(1) T. *pus-mo* (< **puds*) knee, Ch. 巿 *pịwət* knee cover, K. *ṗut* knee; etc. (See K.WF., H. 117, etc., and Family No. 65, sup.)

(2) T. *bris* (< **brids*) picture, drawing, representation, Ch. 筆 *pliĕt* stylus, writing, stroke in writing, K. *a-rit* dividing line, boundary mark; etc. (See Family No. 76, sup.)

(3) T. *rmus-pa* (< **rmuds*) dull, listless, Ch. 忽 *χmwət* dull, stupid, K. *mă-mut* bluish, dark; etc. (See K.WF., H. 105, etc., and Family No. 79, *sup.*)

(4) T. *ạdus-pa* (< **ạduds*) gathering, assembly, meeting (cf. *sdud-pa* vb. tr. to join), Ch. 隊 *d̓wəd* group of soldiers, regiment,

K. *tut* to be joined together, etc. (See. K.WF., F. 151, etc., and Family No. 56, *sup.*)

And we do not then have the *-s* : *-d*, *-t* equations that appear on the surface, but a much more probable T. *-d*, Ch. *-d*, *-t*, K. *-t*.

In this view, then, a considerable number of equations involving the so-called " Perfect " root of Tibetan verbs may be expected, of which the type is again exemplified in e.g.: T. (*b*)*rkos* (< **brkods*) excavated, the so-called " Perfect form of *rko-ba*, *rkod-pa* to dig, Ch. 穴 *ɣiwet*, or 窟 *k'wət* hole, pit, cave (< ' excavated ' place ?)."

But what, then, is the final implication of all this ? Clearly (1) That it is highly probable that Chinese, as well as Kachin, never possessed any final *-s* of any type, either true final or suffix,[1] and (2) that the following is a fairly definite series of equations which we may expect between Tibetan and Chinese :

Tibetan	Chinese
-d	*-d*, *-t*
-s < **-ds*	*-d*, *-t*
-n	*-n*, *-r*, *-l* (?)
-r	*-r*, *-n*, *-l* (?)
-l	*-r*, *-n*, *-l* (?)

In other words, the inescapable conclusion seems to be that there was no *-s* in pre-Archaic Chinese at all, and that archaic *-r* can be descended only from pre-Archaic *-r* or *-l* or some variety of *-n*, and I shall be obliged to withdraw a proposal I made on a former occasion[2] that the alternations *-s* ∼ *-n* and *-s* ∼ *-d* of Tibetan and *-r* ∼ *-n* and *-r* ∼ *-d*, *-r* ∼ *-t* of Chinese support the descent of Archaic Chinese *-r* from *-s* in an undetermined number of cases. On the Chinese side

[1] By this I, of course, mean *-s* standing alone as final, or following a vowel as a suffix. We have no knowledge as to the existence of a *-ds* or *-ts* combination in Chinese at some very early time. It is, of course, just possible that a suffixed *-s* of this nature is at the bottom of the *-d* : *-t* differentiation in Archaic Chinese.

[2] *JRAS.*, 1936, p. 402.

there is, of course, no certainty that any spread of the dental finals ever occurred in the pre-Archaic language producing a series anywhere nearly paralleling Tibetan with its *-d*, *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, and *-s*, and I thus cannot follow Simon [1] in his suggestion that, for instance, 卷 *kiwan* [2] a roll, a scroll, has changed an older *-l* into *-n* on the evidence of Tibetan *gril* a roll. There is small doubt to my mind that Chinese *-n* is always older than Tibetan *-l*. In this particular equation of Simon's I also seriously doubt whether 卷 *kiwan* and its relatives (v. K.WF. E. 1–31) are related to Tibetan *gril* and the other members of its family (v. No. 47, sup.) at all.[3] In the case of Kachin the situation is better known. Not only does the language lack a final or suffixed *-s*, but no spread of the original dental finals *-d* and *-n* can be traced.

I cannot help feeling that this elision theory for Tibetan *-d* explains a very great deal. Even where Tibetan verbs regularly end in *-s* throughout I believe there is ground for supposing the disappearance of *-d* before it. The type is :—

agas-pa, P. *gas* to be split, to be cleft, to be cracked, to be burst asunder.

ages-pa, P. *bkas*, F. *dgas*, Imp. *k'os* to split, to cleave, to divide, to cut open.

Here Chinese relatives in *-d* and *-t* appear to be to hand in 害 *ǵâd* (to cut :) to injure, 膾 *kwâd* to cut meat to pieces, to mince, 劊 *kwâd* cut off, 刉 *kwâd*, *kiəd* to cut, to wound, 劌 *kiwăd* sharp, to cut, to wound, 絜, 契 *k'iad* to cut, a notch, 割 *kât* to cut, 戛 *kæt* lance, 刮 *kwăt* cut off, scrape off, 鉞 *giwăt* halberd, 鍥 *k'iat* sickle, to cut, 劂 *giwət* to incise, and we also have in Kachin *k'ăt* to cut, to hew, to sever, to cleave, *a-k'ăt* to make a semicircular incision with a dah, *lă-k'ăt* to

[1] Wortgl., p. 183, and No. 312.

[2] K.WF., E. 3.

[3] Cf. also e.g. Simon No. 320, T. *aḃral* Ch. 分 *piwən* to divide (K.WF., H. 38). The Chinese family here, I believe, belongs with an entirely different one in Tibetan (v. *JRAS.*, 1936, p. 415, No. 22) where a Tibetan *-n* Ch. *-n* equation is present. For the Tibetan and Kachin relatives of T. *aḃral-ba* see above No. 75.

cut obliquely, and finally, I believe, Tibetan itself supports *-s* < *-ds* here with: *ạgyed-pa*, P. *bgyes*, F. *bkye* to divide, to scatter, to disperse, to dismiss, to distribute, the transitive verb form corresponding to the intransitive *ạgye-ba*, P. *gyes* to be divided, to be separated, to come apart.

The origin of this class of verb is, indeed, perhaps to be traced to the habit which Tibetan has of using its so-called "Perfect" roots as secondary Present forms. In this way, for instance, *rgyas-pa* is used as a Present, though properly the Perfect of *rgya-ba* to increase, *ạgyes-pa* is employed as a Present though really the Perfect of *ạgye-ba* to disperse, giving, in practice *rgya-ba* or *rgyas-pa*, P. *rgyas*, and *ạgye-ba*, or *ạgyes-pa*, P. *ạgyes*. There is only one more step for the verb then, to take before the "Perfect" form has entirely usurped the field and the verb appears with *-s* throughout, exactly as it does in the case of *ạgas-pa* and *ạges-pa* above.

It thus transpires that we get a somewhat different view of many Tibetan word families, and especially among those with dental finals is it evident that only a critical examination of all the material which they offer with, where possible, a comparison with the related families in other languages, can give us any sure idea of where the equations from word to word should be set up.

The same principle, indeed, applies to words which are apparently completely isolated in their own languages. A case in point is Tibetan *ḱa* mouth. Only from the Kachin family *ḱan* to be pushed back, to be separated, *mă-ḱan* to push open, to force apart, *sŭm-ḱan* to be open, to gap, *mă-ḱa* to be open (as a door), to open (as the mouth), *ʃă-ḱa* to part, to separate, *ḱa* to be remote, to be at a distance, to lose (as a tooth), *ḱa* to be parted, to be separated, to gap, to be open, *čyin-ḱa* door, gate, *lă-ḱa* to crack open, to chap, *n-ḱa* door, does it appear that Tibetan *ḱa* was originally "the opener". However reasonable the unsupported supposition[1] might have

[1] From Tibetan alone one, of course, gets a fairly clear impression of the origin of this word from the fact of its carrying the sense of "opening",

appeared, one could never from Tibetan alone have supported it with a series of similar nature.

Finally, also, as an additional example of how very essential the word stock of one language may be to the correct evaluation of that of another, we may take the following case.

The writer has previously [1] suggested that in Tibetan there was formerly, with some probability, a word family of the type *-n* ~ -O with the general sense of " to bend ". Chinese alone gives one this idea, but within the Tibeto-Burman family additional proof is supplied by Kachin,[2] where we have ***kun, tiṅ-kun*** to be bent, to be curved, ***ṫiṅ-kun*** to bend (as a stick), to be pliable, to wriggle, ***śiṅ-kun, mă-kun*** (assume a bending position :) to crouch down, ***ku*** to be bent, to be curved.

" gap ", " vacancy ", in such combinations as *k̔a ɥgebs-pa* to shut an opening, *k̔a skoṅ-ba* to fill a vacancy, etc, but the family as still extant in Kachin is lacking.

[1] *JRAS.*, 1936, pp. 404–5.

[2] See No 38 sup

339.

Aspects of Muḥammadanism in the Eastern Sudan[1]

By S. HILLELSON

THE country with which we are concerned—Nubia, Sennār, and Kordofān—is a comparatively recent conquest of Islam, and it does not properly emerge into the light of history before the sixteenth century. Of its state during the Middle Ages we are very imperfectly informed. Nubia had adopted Coptic Christianity in the sixth century, and there were two kingdoms, Maqarra in the north, with its capital at Dongola, and ʿAlwa in the south, with its capital at Soba near the modern Khartoum. The Arabs twice overran northern Nubia within a decade or two of the Muslim conquest of Egypt, and in their second expedition they sacked Dongola and destroyed its church; but there was no attempt at annexation, and for some five or six centuries the relations between Muslims and Nubians were based on a treaty concluded in 651–2, which precluded either party from settling in the territory of the other; it also imposed on the Nubians an annual payment of 300 or 360 slaves in exchange for gifts of cloth and grain. The treaty was but indifferently observed, and from time to time there were raids and counter-raids, but Nubia preserved its independence and its isolation from the worlds both of Islam and Christendom. Intercourse with the Muslim lands was not entirely lacking, and in the tenth century two Arabic authors composed accounts of the state of Nubia: I refer to the famous al-Masʿūdī and to a certain Ibn Salīm or Ibn Sulaym of Aswān, extracts from whose work are preserved in Maqrīzī's Topography of Egypt. The main point which emerges from these accounts, and from the archæological evidence, is that the Christian Nubians, though poor in material resources and lacking in political organization, possessed certain elements of culture derived from the

[1] Read before the Royal Asiatic Society on 8th October, 1936.

Hellenistic tradition of Egypt: their buildings and their pottery were greatly superior in workmanship to the Arab work, which is later in point of time; they wrote their funerary inscriptions in tolerably good Greek; they read the scriptures in Greek and in Coptic, and they even developed a literature in their own language, of which scanty fragments have been preserved.

The immigration of the Arabs into Nubia may have begun on a small scale soon after the Muslim conquest of Egypt, but for a long time Nubia was strong enough to offer effective resistance to Arab expansion. The process was one of gradual infiltration until it gained momentum in the thirteenth century, but the details of tribal wanderings and of conflicts between the Arab tribesmen on the one side, and Nubians and Beğa on the other, are unrecorded and largely lost even to oral tradition.

From the thirteenth century onwards Nubian affairs begin to loom more largely in the Egyptian records, and during the reigns of Baybars and Qala'ūn we find that Egypt frequently intervenes in the northern kingdom, which is now in a state of increasing confusion and disintegration. Nubian kings war with the Mamlūk sultans and amongst themselves; Nubian pretenders gain the throne of Dongola through Egyptian military aid, only to lose it again as the armies withdraw. Arabs of Rabī'a and Ğuhayna ally themselves by marriage to the royal house of Dongola and grasp at the throne, and in the second decade of the fourteenth century we suddenly hear of a king of Dongola who bears a Muslim name. From an Egyptian author of a handbook for secretaries, who wrote between 1340 and 1348 (*Kitāb al-ta'rīf bil-muṣṭalaḥ al-šarīf* of Shihāb al-dīn Aḥmad al-'Umarī), we gather that in his time Dongola was regarded as a protectorate or dependency of Egypt, and that the *khuṭba* was read in the name of the caliph of the age and the ruler of Egypt; yet Christian kings still alternated with Muslims, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in 1352 still speaks of the Nubians as a Christian people. From these

indications we get an approximate date for the gradual disappearance of Christianity in the northern kingdom, though no chronicle has recorded the sequence of events. The mass immigration of Arab tribes must be placed in the same period, and when the immigrants at last were masters not only of the upland plains but of the Nile valley the Nubians ceased to exist as a nation: those who survived the slaughter adopted Islam and were absorbed amongst that section of the Arabs which chose settlement on the river in preference to the nomadic life, and survivals of their customs and their material civilization may still be traced amongst tribes which now consider themselves to be of pure Arab lineage. The process must in some respects have resembled that which centuries before had taken place in Egypt, when Christianity and the Coptic language had given way to Islam and Arabic; but, unlike Egypt, Nubia retained no remnant of its ancient faith. It is a strange phenomenon, however, for which no obvious explanation is available, that the riverain strip from Aswān to Dongola has retained its ancient Nubian speech to the present day.

The next event of importance is the rise of the Funğ kingdom of Sennār at the turn of the fifteenth century. Egypt for some reason or other appears to have lost interest in Nubia after the period just referred to: at any rate, there is a complete gap in the records for some 150 years, and then the story is taken up by the oral tradition and the native historians of the Sudan. The southern kingdom of 'Alwa survived the fall of Dongola, but, hard pressed by the Arab invaders, and cut off from the sources of its religious and cultural life, it simply faded out of existence. The Portuguese Alvarez writing in 1520 speaks of the Nubians—and no doubt the southern people are meant—as still dwelling in the Nile country bordering on Abyssinia's maritime province. These people, he tells us, had once been Christians, and 150 churches were still to be seen in their country; but having for a long time been unable to obtain priests and teachers from Egypt and

Abyssinia, they were now neither Christians, Moors, nor Jews; they had no king but a number of chiefs living in ancient castles. *When this account was published* Sennār *had already* been founded, and little time was to elapse before this last remnant of the Nubians should disappear from history, becoming merged in their Muslim conquerors.

"Know that the Funğ possessed and conquered the land of the Nubians in the year 910 of the Flight; then the town of Sennār was founded by 'Amāra Dunqas." With these words of the native chronicler[1] the Funğ make an abrupt appearance in history, and little that is certain can be said of their origin and of the events which brought them into the Sudan. According to their own account their kings were descendants of the Umayyad caliphs; for they claimed as their ancestor one Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, who is related to have fled to Abyssinia at the time of the rise of the 'Abbāsid dynasty, and thence to have made his way to the Sudan, where he married the daughter of a local king. Whether this tradition be true or false, it tells us little that matters: for some seven hundred years had elapsed between the time of this ancestor and the first appearance of the Funğ in the chronicles; and so much is certain that, as they emerged into history they were a clan or family of distinctively African type, clearly marked off from the Arabs with whom they allied themselves. Bruce, the discoverer of the sources of the Blue Nile, believed them to be connected with the Hamito-Negroid Shilluk of the Upper Nile, but the evidence for this theory is far from convincing. Their own tradition points to an Abyssinian origin, and it appears that they looked upon the country on the upper reaches of the Blue Nile as the home of their race.

Be this as it may, they invaded Sennār and the country to the north of it about the year 1500, and there met the tide of the Arab advance. An alliance ensued between the Funğ king 'Amāra and a clan of Rufā'a known as the Qawāsma,

[1] *Ṭabaqāt Wad Ḍayfallāh*, p. 3.

whose chief was 'Abdullāh Ğammā'. The allies destroyed the last strongholds of Nubian 'Alwa, and founded a new kingdom, of loosely feudal structure, of which 'Amāra was king and 'Abdullāh Ğammā' the premier vassal; the Funğ monarch made his residence at Sennār, while 'Abdullāh and his descendants the 'Abdullāb chose as their headquarters Ḥalfāya near the junction of the two Niles.

We have seen that Dongola had Muslim kings in the fourteenth century, and there is no doubt that the nomad tribesmen who overran Nubia were Muslims at least in name; yet it appears clearly from native tradition, supported by other sources of information, that the Islamization of the country in a real sense took place after the establishment of the Funğ dynasty and was, in fact, brought about by the new régime. The native historian, whom I have just quoted as recording the foundation of Sennār continues as follows :—

"Now in these countries there flourished neither schools of learning nor the reading of the Qur'ān; it is said that a man might divorce his wife and she be married by another man the self-same day without any period of probation (*'idda*), until Shaykh Maḥmūd al-'Arakī came from Egypt and taught the people to observe the law of *'idda* . . then in the second half of the tenth century (of the flight) . . . Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Būlādī came from Egypt to the Shā'iqīya country where he taught Khalīl and the Risāla; whence learning and a knowledge of law spread to the Ğezīra. Then after a short time came Shaykh Tāğ al-dīn al-Bahārī from Baghdād and introduced the path of the Ṣūfīs into the Funğ country. . "

And so he goes on to mention the names of other scholars and saints, all of whom flourished in the sixteenth century of our era, and with whom the introduction of Muslim learning and of the Ṣūfī organizations is associated. It is worthy of note that these teachers and missionaries came from all parts of the Muslim world—Egypt, the Maghrib, and Baghdād are specifically mentioned—and it would appear that the kings of the new dynasty favoured the settlement of learned men and,

by their liberality, attracted not only genuine teachers and zealous devotees, but many spurious claimants to learning and saintliness ready to exploit the credulity of a primitive people and their devotion to their new faith.

The information of the native historians is here happily supplemented from an unexpected quarter: I refer to the diary of David Reubeni, an Oriental Jew who appeared in Italy in 1524 purporting to be the brother of a king Joseph who ruled over an independent and warlike community of Jews somewhere in Arabia: he professed to have been entrusted with the mission to enlist the interest of the Christian powers with a view to combined action against the Muslims, and he appears to have negotiated with the Pope, and the Portuguese court, and the Emperor Charles V. In the early part of his narrative[1] he relates his travels from Suakin to the kingdom of Sheba—which no doubt stands for Soba—and thence by way of Dongola to Egypt. He refers to King 'Amāra by name, mentions Sennār in the biblical disguise of Shinar, and knows the kingdom of al-Ǧa'l, i.e the country of the Ǧa'liyīn tribe between Soba and Dongola; these references prove that David Reubeni, though a somewhat shady character in other respects, is entitled to the honour of being the first traveller to give an account of the Funǧ kingdom, a fact which has hitherto escaped the attention of his editors and translators.

David relates that he presented himself at the court of 'Amāra—a black king who ruled over black men and white—purporting to be a Meccan sherif; the claim was accepted not only by the king but even by a certain Abū Kāmil described as chief of the descendants of the prophet living in the land of Kush. King 'Amāra treated both Abū Kāmil and David with great honour and deference and was lavish with gifts; we also hear of a third Meccan sherif who presented to King 'Amāra a book "brought from the house of the

[1] See the present writer's article in *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xvi (1933), part 1.

prophet" and both David and Abū Kāmil testified to its authenticity. It is outside our subject to follow David Reubeni in his adventures: the point in which we are interested is his description of this primitive African king, whose adherence to Islam was still no more than nominal, but who was eager to show his religious zeal in precisely the manner which the native historians ascribe to these Funǧ kings of the sixteenth century.

We possess an excellent account of the scholars and saints of the Sudan during the Funǧ period, i.e. from about the year 1500 to the end of the eighteenth century, in a book entitled *Ṭabaqāt al-awliyā' wa-l-ṣāliḥīn fil-Sūdān*, composed by a native scholar of the Ǧa'liyīn tribe, Muḥammad wad Ḍayfallāh, who lived at Ḥalfāya near the modern Khartoum, and died early in the nineteenth century.[1] It is a kind of biographical dictionary containing notices of 260 men of learning and religious distinction, and it throws much light not only on the state of learning and the religious life but also on social conditions and political history. Incidentally it is of great linguistic interest because it is largely written in the colloquial dialect and preserves many words which are now obsolete.

To those who know Islam only in the highly developed forms which it assumed in the centres of its civilization the book opens up a strange world. The Sudan for all practical purposes was cut off from the outside world; for although precarious contact with Egypt and the Red Sea coast was maintained by means of arduous caravan routes, travellers had to face great hardships and dangers from thirst and from brigands. Troubled political conditions added to the insecurity and communications were often interrupted for years. We frequently hear of men performing the pilgrimage to the holy

[1] For accounts of this work see MacMichael, *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, vol. ii; and the present writer's paper in *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. vi (1923). The text has been printed at the Muqtaṭaf Press, Cairo, in 1930 (ed. Sulaymān Da'ūd Mandīl); and at the Maḥmūdiya Press, Cairo, in the same year (ed. Shaykh Ibrāhīm Ṣādiq). Extracts have been published by the present writer in *Sudan-Arabic Texts* (Cambridge, 1935).

places, and there are occasional references to contacts with al-Azhar in Cairo; yet the influences which reached the Sudan from these sources were feeble indeed, and it is not surprising that the country developed a tradition strongly imbued with a native flavour. It knew none of the refinements of civilization, and had no share in the industries and arts which flourished in the more favoured countries of Islam. Life was close to the soil, and the struggle for bare necessities in an uncongenial climate left little opportunity for the cultivation of the things of the mind and the spirit.

Every trend of thought represented in Sudanese Islam and every extravagance of its hagiology and its superstition has its origin and its parallel in the popular religion of other Muslim countries: what is characteristic of the Sudan is the absence of that cultural background which in the other countries kept superstition and popular fancy within certain bounds. Here there was no class of cultured men of letters and no school of rationalist theologians to combat the spurious growths of pseudo-learning and pseudo-mysticism, and even the best amongst the men of learning were tainted with leanings towards the miraculous. It is significant that in the Sudan the terms *faqīh* and *faqīr*, which usually denote the opposing tendencies of rationalism and mysticism, became confused in the word *fakī* (pl. *fuqarā*), which is applied indiscriminately to the scholar and the mystic and, at the lowest point of the scale, to the ignorant hedge-priest and to the dubious dealer in charms and amulets. The stream of tradition reached this remote backwater in a very attenuated form, and it would not be fair to measure the unsophisticated learning of Nubia and Sennār by the standards of Damascus and Cairo.

Of the men who founded schools it was said that they "lit the fire of the Qur'ān"[1] or "the fire of study", a term which has a literal as well as a metaphorical implication, for after nightfall study was carried on by the dim light of a

[1] *Auqad nār al-Qur'ān (al-'ilm).*

bonfire, and one of the daily tasks of a learned man's disciples was to collect firewood for this purpose, as well as to labour in his cultivation and to attend to his flocks and herds. A school was called *khalwa* (a term also used for the retreat of ascetics and for the guest-chambers attached to the settlements of holy men); and a distinction was made between *khalwas* of the Qur'ān, in which the sacred book was the only subject of study, and *khalwas* of study (*'ilm*) in which lectures were given on the various branches of law and theology.

To memorize the Qur'ān was the ambition of every student, and a knowledge of the book as well as ability to quote from it aptly seems to have been a fairly common accomplishment. In the teaching no MSS. were used: the teacher dictated from memory, and the students took down the daily lesson on wooden tablets from which it could be washed off after it had been thoroughly mastered. Instruction in reading and writing thus inevitably accompanied the study of the Qur'ān, but no attempt was made to explain the meaning. A complete reading was called a *Khatma* or sealing, and it gave the student who had achieved it a title to some distinction; many, of course, who began the study left off without completing it; thus we are told of an almost illiterate person, who, nevertheless, attained sainthood, that he had read no further than the *Zilzila*, i.e. the chapter entitled Earthquake, which comes early in the first section studied by beginners.

In the *khalwas* of study the most popular subject was law; and as the country followed the Mālikī rite the most favoured textbooks were the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd and the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl, two well-known compendia of Mālikī *fiqh*. The study of either or both of these was almost universal in the case of any aspirant to learning; the subjects next in popularity were the treatises of al-Sanūsī on the Articles of Belief, and certain books on the correct enunciation of the Qur'ān. Other subjects of the traditional scholastic course, such as Tradition and Qur'ānic exegesis and the Arabic language, are referred to much less frequently, and they seem

to have been cultivated only by exceptionally gifted scholars. From numerous passages of the *Ṭabaqāt* we get the impression that the general level of scholarship never amounted to very much, and we have to think of these scholars as men of a particularly dark age, endeavouring with the scanty means at their disposal to serve the cause of religion and learning in an environment not far removed from barbarism. Some concentrated on missionary teaching and preaching, a very necessary task amongst a people comparatively new to the faith and ignorant of its most elementary tenets. A point of some interest is that such men, who naturally sought close contact with the masses, did not disdain the rough vernacular dialect and the homely proverbs and sayings of the countryside: thus Shaykh Faraḥ wad Taktūk, a learned man of the late seventeenth century whose tomb near the Sennār dam is still visited by pilgrims, composed proverbs and homilies, and a metrical version of the articles of belief in colloquial Arabic [1]; and of Ḥamad Umm Maryūm, his contemporary, it is recorded that amongst his following women outnumbered men, a fact alluded to in the following verses composed by one of his disciples :—

"Our father of the patchèd cloak uncouth,
A bubbling well of wisdom and of truth;
Who turned our hearts from wrong and sins away,
And taught Fezāra women how to pray." [2]

He was a somewhat formidable puritan who insisted on very strict observance of the moral and the religious law: thus he required of penitent sinners that they should give

[1] For examples see the present writer's *Sudan-Arabic Texts*, pp. 156 ff.

[2] *Ṭabaqāt* (ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣādiq, p. 67):

ابونا أبو دلقاً مرقّع
العنده الرأى والعيحْ المفقّع
أبونا المنع من الماكر والكبائر
أبونا الخلا الفزاريات فقائر

Mandīl's edition reads المنقّع at the end of the first line.

away in charity any ill-gotten gains in their possession, and that they should fast until all flesh raised up by forbidden or unlawfully acquired food had wasted away; he insisted on the seclusion of women with such strictness that not even their voices were permitted within the hearing of men, and he taught his disciples to fix their eyes on the ground when passing a woman. Of his sons-in-law he required that they should leave their wives in their father's care lest his daughters should be corrupted in strange surroundings; and if any of the people of the royal court would have dealings with him he insisted that they, as well as their attendants and children should know the six pillars of belief and the five pillars of Islam. It need hardly be said that such strictness of religious observance was the exception rather than the rule, and that the common people were as quick to relapse into laxity as they were susceptible to the emotional appeal of revivalism.

Learning, then, or a reputation for learning was held in high esteem; yet the type most characteristic of the country is not the scholar but the saint, whose claim to spiritual distinction is attested by ecstatic states and visions and miracles, and who therefore has no need of the formal learning of theologians and lawyers. Some of those who attained saintship pursued the ordinary studies at the beginning of their career, but there were many who repudiated all formal learning as immensely inferior to the spiritual enlightenment of sainthood. We have already met a saint who had read no further than the *Zilzila*. Another story relates that Ḥasan wad Balīl, a holy man of Dongola, used to perform the miracle of walking on the Nile by means of reciting the formula *yā ḥayy yā qayyūm*; yet being of Nubian speech he pronounced the latter word with a *kāf* instead of a *qāf*; a forward disciple presumed to correct his pronunciation, but he sank in the water and was only able to perform the feat when he imitated his master's mistake. At the deathbed of a holy man, named 'Alī al-Nīl, discussion arose as to who should be his successor; the dying man said: My successor shall be the herdsman,

meaning his son Abū'l-Qāsim, who was herding the cattle in a shirt black with dirt and stained with dung, and though the dying man's brothers as well as his other son were learned in the Qur'ān, he preferred Abū'l-Qāsim as being more advanced in divine knowledge. On a later occasion a certain disciple noticed that this Abū'l-Qāsim was casual in performing the ritual prayers, and he secretly doubted about him in his heart. The holy man miraculously knew his most secret thoughts, and reproved him, saying: when you sit with people guard your thoughts and do not imitate the lawyers whose hearts are veiled from the vision of God.

One more anecdote may be quoted to illustrate the quarrel between the representatives of formal learning and the miracle-working saints: it is related of a certain Shaykh Daf'allāh that he used to lie half the day amongst his womenfolk studying the books of learning for his lectures. One day his daughter, Sittenā, said to him: "Father, the people of Walad Abū Ṣādiq have gained power over Fung̃ and Arabs by their miracles; for them elephants carry *dulayb* palms from the forests of the south. His disciples take his horses from Mandara to the river, a three days' journey in one noontide, and bring them back with their tails still wet. But from you and my brother Maḥmūd we hear nothing but talk of books and authors." Shaykh Daf'allāh replied: "The people of Walad Abū Ṣādiq possess the gift of having their prayers answered, and thus they have gained power over the world; yet at the end of time your father's principles shall prevail."

The miraculous powers of the saints have an exceedingly wide range including, as they do, a knowledge of the hidden thoughts of men and of future events; power over animals and inanimate objects; ability to fly in the air and to walk on the surface of the waters; the art of healing by prayers or incantations, and even of restoring the dead to life. A feature of which there are several instances in the lives of the saints is the occurrence of visions, based on the Mi'rāg̃ legend, in which the saint is transported to the heavens, where he holds

converse with angels and with the prophets and saints of Islam, and receives revelations of divine mysteries. In a saying ascribed to a holy man of the seventeenth century three degrees of sainthood are distinguished: the lowest degree is that the saint is able to fly in the air, and to walk on the water, and to speak of hidden things; the middle degree is that God grants him the creative power whereby he says to a thing "be", and it is; the high degree is that of the Quṭb or Pole. In the hierarchy of saints the Quṭb occupies the highest place, and the lower ranks—the Awtād and Nuqabā' and Budalā'—are described as the troops of the Quṭb. In theory there can be only one Quṭb living on earth at one time, yet we are told that of the disciples of Ibrāhīm b. Ǧābir no less than forty attained this exalted rank.

The most important earthly office of the saint is to confer spiritual benefit on those who come in contact with him, a result not achieved by teaching or preaching, or by the example of a holy life, but through the *baraka* or virtue inherent in him, which acts as an influence on his surroundings. He is visited by the faithful with the object of partaking of this influence—*lil-tabarruk*—and though he may give material assistance as a healer and a worker of miracles, it is the spiritual comfort of his presence which is most eagerly sought. This *baraka* survives after the holy man's death in his descendants and in places and objects associated with him, more especially his tomb, which becomes an object of pilgrimage. Visitors to such tombs are conscious of the feelings of awe and spiritual comfort.

The boundless extravagance which prevails in the claims made by the saints and their disciples could not fail occasionally to shock Muslim orthodoxy, but the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* probably represents the general attitude in recording them not only without disapproval but with unquestioned acceptance. The farthest limit is reached in a saying recorded of a disciple of Shaykh Daf'allāh al-'Arakī: "The name of my father Daf'allāh is the great name of God. When writing

amulets Daf'allāh used but to write his own name, repeating it a number of times."

Before leaving the saints reference must be made to the curious type of antinomian and eccentric saints; the antinomians are called Malāmatīya, a word derived from the root meaning "blame", and their characteristic is that they ostentatiously act in a manner which exposes them to reproach and obloquy. A number of different ideas and tendencies are mingled in their teaching; there is the protest against the hypocrisy of those who pray and do good deeds in public in order to gain fame; the Malāmatī argues that there is greater merit in leading the holy life under the cloak of profanity and even of evil fame. Then there is the ascetic motive which causes the persecution and the indignities provoked by such a reputation to be welcomed as a form of spiritual discipline. Finally there is the belief that the saint, by virtue of his spiritual enlightenment, is no longer bound by the restrictions of moral and ritual laws. It is easy to see how the pursuit of "blame" could be made to serve as a cloak for unblushing immorality, and how the shocking behaviour of mentally deranged saints could be excused and even glorified as an expression of the Malāmatī spirit. Thus we hear of a famous worker of miracles, Muḥammad al-Hamīm, also known as Walad Abū Ṣādiq, who was married to seven wives at a time, the total of his wives reaching ninety, and who openly flouted the law forbidding the marrying of two sisters by one husband. At one of his numerous wedding-feasts the slave-girls sang of him :—

> "He curses the devil and praises the Lord,
> And is swayed by Ḥalīma's lightest word." [1]

To which he replied: "Aye, even thus." Dushayn, the *qāḍī* of Arbağī, who is known as the Just Judge, openly reproved him

[1] *Ṭabaqāt* (ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣadīq, p. 150):

الشيخ يعبد الله ويلعن ابليس
ويكون لحليمة طائعاً خنيس

and pronounced his marriages invalid, whereupon the holy man put a curse on him, and he was stricken with skin disease.

There are numerous anecdotes of holy men, who manifested their spiritual enlightenment by eccentricities of conduct such as the use of music and dancing, or the wearing of articles of apparel pertaining to women, or by trances in which they uttered verses of mystic meaning or spoke in strange tongues, or by wandering about the country owning neither homes nor worldly possessions. Such men gained the veneration of the populace, and the approval of our author, no less than the serious scholars and the orthodox saints.

A singularly observant European traveller, the Swiss John Lewis Burckhardt, visited Nubia soon after the date at which the *Ṭabaqāt* were written, and his references to the state of learning and to holy men form an interesting commentary on our author. There are few respectable families, he tells us, who have not a son or a relation that dedicates his youth to the study of the law. After attending school, where they are taught as much of the Qur'ān and some other prayer-books as their memory can retain, as well as the art of writing charms and amulets, they return to their homes and, for the rest of their lives, affect great uprightness of conduct and strictness of morals, which amount, however, to little more than not to smoke tobacco or drink bouza in public, and not to frequent the resorts of debauchery. Many of them have a reputation as writers of amulets, and there are specialists for various kinds of charms such as love-receipts, febrifuges, and others.

Damer, now the chief town of the Northern Province, was in Burckhardt's time a large town or village containing about 500 houses, and the greater part of the inhabitants were Fokara or religious men. Under the rule of the Great Faky or High Pontiff, as he calls him, they formed a little hierarchical state, the affairs of which were conducted with great prudence. There were several schools, to which young men repaired from

Darfour, Kordofan, and other parts of the Soudan, and in which the reading of the Qur'ān, as well as Tafsīr and Tawḥīd, was taught. Many of the young fakys had studied at al-Azhar or at the Great Mosque at Mecca, and the learned men of Damer possessed many books on religious and judicial subjects. The family of the Mağādhīb, of which the Great Faky was the head, had the reputation of producing necromancers, or persons of supernatural powers, from whom nothing remains hidden, and whose spells nothing can withstand. Thus it was related of the father of the Great Faky, that he had caused a lamb to bleat in the stomach of a thief who had stolen and eaten it. The holy men of Damer were, accordingly, held in high respect by their neighbours, and even the treacherous Bishareen had never been known to hurt any of the people of Damer, when travelling through their mountains, and they particularly feared the power of the Fakys to deprive them of rain. The chief fakys lived with great ostentation of sanctity and the Great Faky lived the life of a hermit, passing the greater part of the day in seclusion without any attendants and separated from his own family. About three o'clock in the afternoon he used to quit his chamber and take his seat on a large stone bench in front of his house. There he was joined by all his fraternity and public business was transacted until sunset. "I went once to kiss his hands," relates Burckhardt, "and found him a venerable figure entirely wrapped up in a white cloak. He asked me from whence I came, in what schools I had learnt to read, and what books I had read; and he seemed satisfied with my answers." Life at Damer, however, was not altogether saintly; for Burckhardt records with some surprise that, notwithstanding the austerity of the Fakys, there were a great many bouza shops and houses of debauchery established all over the town.

The date of Burkhardt's travels brings us within a few years of the Turco-Egyptian annexation of the Sudan. The sixty years of Egyptian rule were marked by appalling misgovernment and a great increase in the slave trade with all its

attendant horrors; but it opened up the country, for the first time in its history, to the commerce of the civilized world. The official islamic institutions, introduced by the new rulers, such as *sharī'a* courts and government *qādīs*, and official mosques do not seem to have acquired much influence with the mass of the people; but it appears that the new regime gave some impetus to the spread of the Muslim Fraternities or Ṭarīqas. The holy men of Wad Ḍayfallāh's period had, it is true, claimed spiritual affiliation with these bodies; thus Shaykh Tāğ al-dīn al-Bahārī, who introduced Ṣūfism into the Sudan, was of the order of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ğīlānī, and the Mağādhīb of Damer regarded their community as an offspring of the Shādhilīya order; yet it was not until the Turkish period that the Sudan began to adopt the typical forms of organization characteristic of these Fraternities. The Ṭarīqa which at the present day enjoys the greatest popularity, the Khatmīya or Mīrghanīya, is first heard of in the early decades of the nineteenth century, when it was introduced into the Sudan by Sayyid Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Mīrghanī, a native of Ṭā'if in the Ḥiğāz. His son and successor, Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, occupies an important place in popular hagiology to the present day. On the eve of the Mahdist revolt the atmosphere was still that depicted by Wad Ḍayfallāh, and the country had not ceased to produce new saints and new miracles. An Englishman writing in 1883 (Lieut.-Col. Stewart, who later fell a victim to Mahdist fanaticism) recognized that the characteristic feature of Sudanese Islam was its emotional and superstitious nature, and he drew attention to the enormous influence of the fakīs who were credited with supernatural power and almost venerated more than the prophet.

It is to this world of fakīdom that Muḥammad Aḥmad the Sudanese Mahdī belonged; in his early life he had been a disciple of a shaykh of the Sammanīya Ṭarīqa, and the movement originated by him had its roots in the tradition fostered by the holy men and their schools. Superficially it bears

some resemblance to Wahhābism, and it is probable that Muḥammad Aḥmad had some knowledge of the Arabian sect, but the psychological foundations of the two movements are profoundly different. Both professed to uphold the strict *sunna* of the prophet and his companions, and both decried the innovations which the consensus of later ages had permitted or at least condoned. But Ibn ʽAbd al-Wahhāb derived from the scholastic tradition and never claimed to be more than a man of learning exercising the common duty of "enjoining the right and forbidding the wrong", as the phrase goes. The Sudanese Mahdī, on the other hand, appeared as a Messiah proclaiming the millennium, and he derived the sanction for his mission from a new revelation communicated to him in visions, in which he held converse with the prophets and the saints of Islam, and the Deity himself, and his activity as a preacher and a warrior were accompanied by a constant flow of miracles. The Mahdī liked to represent his career as a repetition of the prophetic life: thus he had his *hiǵra* and his *anṣār* and his caliphs, and he wrote to Gordon and the Khedive in terms such as the Prophet is recorded to have used in letters to Khusrau and Cæsar; yet his real world was far removed from that of primitive Islam, and he stands in the direct line of succession from the scholars and saints of his own country, from whom he differed only in this, that he was a man of action as well as a preacher, and that he found the time propitious for a political movement which had far-reaching consequences. The theological learning displayed in his numerous and verbose proclamations does not exceed in range or in critical judgment the normal attainments of a Sudanese scholar, while his visions and his communications with the Unseen World have a striking family resemblance to similar experiences of the saints. The public which he addressed was used to the pretensions of holy men, and not entirely uncritical of their claims; but the call to arms against the hated Turk, which was a dominant note in his teaching, made a ready appeal to a people groaning under oppression,

and the series of victories gained over an apparently invincible government convinced all doubters of the divine nature of this revelation.

The Mahdī's innovations in doctrine and ritual deserve separate treatment. In this place it is desirable to refer briefly to the survival of the Mahdist cult and the growth of a Mahdist legend long after the political power of the Mahdist state had passed away. Neither the death of the Mahdī in 1885, nor the reconquest of the Sudan by the British and Egyptian forces in 1899, was sufficient fully to discredit the pretensions of one who had told his followers that he was destined to conquer Mecca and to end his victorious career at Kūfa, and for a number of years the danger of fanatical risings inspired by the Mahdist tradition called for the anxious watchfulness of the new government.

In the survival of the Mahdist cult two tendencies are to be distinguished: the fanatical spirit of a die-hard remnant, and the more recent transformation of Mahdism into an orthodox Ṭarīqa. The former held that, as Muḥammad Aḥmad was the true Mahdī, the prophecies must be fulfilled which foretold that the revelation of the Mahdī was to be followed by the short reign of Antichrist and the second coming of Jesus. The new government was accordingly cast for the part of the Daǧǧāl, and the dreamers of dreams looked anxiously for the revelation of the Nabī 'Īsā. Amongst this fanatical remnant there circulated prophecies, sometimes quoted as *ḥadīṯh*, and sometimes ascribed to such authorities as Muḥyī al-dīn b. al-'Arabī, which were intended to strengthen the belief in the true mahdīhood of Muḥammad Aḥmad: it had been prophesied of old, they said, that upon the coming of the Mahdī "Hicks would die of thirst and Gordon be killed at Khartoum"; and the Mahdī himself had foretold that after him there were to come "people coarse of body, red-coloured, and blue-eyed, who neither fast nor pray . . . who drink wine and smell of tobacco, and who are addicted to every form of vice." The Daǧǧāl, according to one of these vaticinia, would

ride upon the she-ass Bil, a she-ass without legs, the Arabic word *atān bil* being intended, presumably, to suggest an automobile. The Daǧǧāl, according to the legend, is one-eyed, and there are those who believe that Kitchener was one-eyed. Then there are numerous stories of signs and wonders which occurred at the final battles of Mahdism, and of the remorse of those who had fought against the believers.

It need hardly be said that such beliefs were confined to a small circle of devotees, and that their teaching had no serious effect on the mass of the people who were weary of Baqqāra tyranny, and conscious of the peace and prosperity which had come in the wake of the new government. The turbulent Baqqāra might lend a ready ear to preachers who promised them a return of their rule, and the unsophisticated tribesmen of the remote west might be impressed by apocalyptic prophecies. But for the majority of Sudanese Muslims there were but two ways: many now rejected Mahdism root and branch, a course not difficult for those who had only accepted it under compulsion, and for those whose personal and political loyalties pointed in other directions. In other quarters the memory of the Mahdī continued to be revered as that of a great religious leader, and of a notable figure in history; and as time elapsed a new interpretation was put on the past. So it came about that a new Mahdist community has grown up, which recognizes the Mahdī's surviving son as its religious head, and which has the status of a Ṭarīqa rather than that of a dissenting sect. They lay no stress on the messianic implications of the Mahdist dispensation, and their adherence to the Mahdist Ṭarīqa is not incompatible with Muslim orthodoxy and with loyalty to the government. Their outward sign is the use of the Rātib, a book of prayers and Qur'ānic passages, ordained by the Mahdi for the use of his followers. The Rātib contains no reference to Muḥammad Aḥmad's messianic claims, and no elements of doctrine to which orthodox Muslims could take exception. It is similar in type to such books as the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*

and the *Awrād* used in the several Ṭarīqas. The neo-Mahdists also study the letters and proclamations of the Mahdī, and observe certain of his ordinances such as the prohibition of tobacco.

The changes which the Sudan has undergone in the last thirty-five years have been more rapid and more far-reaching than any which it has experienced in the whole course of its history. It must not be supposed, nevertheless, that the world of the old holy men has entirely passed away, or that superstition has ceased to be rife amongst the masses. The fakī is still a power in the land, and the reverence shown to men of religious distinction, and especially to the heads of the great Ṭarīqas, is a remarkable feature of the religious life. Yet, as a result of the educational system provided by the government, the Sudan now possesses the element which was lacking in the past: a class of men schooled in the best traditions of Muslim scholarship, and open to the most enlightened and most progressive tendencies in Islam. Many of the ancient Qur'ān *khalwas* have been absorbed in the educational system and, in addition to their religious function, perform useful service as elementary schools. The advanced study of religious subjects is mainly carried on at an institution connected with the Omdurman mosque and supervised by an enlightened body of 'ulamā; and the training of judges for the sharī'a courts is provided in a special section of the Gordon College. The young men who have enjoyed these educational facilities, both religious and secular, look to the future rather than to the dreams of the past.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

A GRAMMAR OF THE PHŒNICIAN LANGUAGE. By ZELLIG S. HARRIS. American Oriental Series, Vol. 8. 10½ × 6½, pp. xi + 172. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1936.

So many years have passed since the last effort was made to prepare a grammar of Phœnician that this is a book that has long been wanted. The sources are, in the first instance, the *C.I.S.* and Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*; but numerous Phœnician and Punic texts have been brought to light in this century, and they number an important series from Byblos which, at a stroke, carried back the date of the earliest Phœnician inscriptions to the close of the second millennium B.C. Confining himself strictly to Phœnician and Punic, the author enlists the "Canaanisms" of the Amarna Letters and the Ras Shamra texts only for purposes of illustration. Egyptian transcriptions of Canaanite (or Palestinian) words and the evidence from Plautus and other classical sources are duly taken into account, and the book as a whole is an excellent survey of material which is at present somewhat scattered and miscellaneous.

After an introduction on the sources, the author discusses the alphabet, orthography, and the phonetic system in general (pp. 1–37). There follow pages on the morphology and on the little that has to be said concerning the syntax (pp. 39–66). A complete and invaluable glossary takes up 80–90 pages, and the book ends with lists of inscriptions and a bibliography, confined mainly to the literature since Lidzbarski's exhaustive survey (1898). The treatment throughout is scholarly and adequate; and since so much is given us it seems ungracious to comment upon lacunae. Students will be well advised to interleave the glossary, if not the whole book.

Turning over the pages we may make the following cursory remarks. For the Iphil conjugation (pp. 42 seq.) see also Lidzbarski's survey of the verbal forms, *Handbuch*, p. 403, where he gives the Punic העלא (p. 341, apparently wanting in Harris), and suggests certain participial forms. As for the vowel of the first syllable, it may be noticed that in Akkadian the name Hoshea appears as *a-u-si-'* in the case of the king of Israel, and as *u-si-'* in the Aramæan bilingual, *C.I.S.*, ii, 17. As for the suffixes of the 3rd sing. masc. (p. 52) it may be useful to take note of the curious ויקדשין in the Nash papyrus. The ת in זת (masc. and fem.) is described as "adverbial" (p. 54), whereas it is surely better to compare the "deictic *t*" in המת as on p. 47. Apropos of the forms נתן and יתן (p. 44) it seems appropriate to compare נצב and יצב, and to proceed to ask whether the special forms הִצִּיק, הִצִּית, etc., may not point to the existence of the roots נצק and נצת by the side of יצק and יצת. For אזרם (p. 75), cf. Torrey, *AJSL.*, xxxiii, 58; for חזען (p. 101) Cooke's note may be referred to, and for ציץ (p. 141) see A. H. Lloyd, *Numismatic Chronicle*, v (1925), 129 sqq. As for מארח as a title of Eshmun (p. 115), may one think of a denominative of אֲרֻכָה "the healer"; with the interchange of ח and כ; cf. אָנֹכִי and אֲנַחְנוּ, and note that in Jer. xxxiii, 6, where it occurs, the verb רפא is also used as in the Phœnician inscription. On p. 127 the form סלמת (fem. plur.) for סמלת, *C.I.S.*, i, 88, 5, might have been noticed. Also for ססמי (ib.), see Peters and Thiersch, *Painted Tombs of Marissa*, p. 39. In the bilingual in which this name occurs, the name בעלשלם corresponds to the Greek *Πραξίδημος*; this might be noted on p. 90.

These haphazard jottings—and every reader will make his own—illustrate the timeliness of a compilation which every Semitic student will be glad to have and—to repeat a suggestion—should hasten to interleave.

A. 707. S. A. Cook.

Le Tombeau d'Amonmos. 4^{me} partie. Tombes Thébaines: Nécropol de Dirâ' Abû'n-Nága. By George Foucart. Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Tome lvii. 14¼ × 11, pls. xxxvi. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1925.

The present work adds another member to M. Foucart's useful series of Theban tombs, and one which is to be welcomed for a special reason. Hitherto the invaluable book, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, by Dr. Alan Gardiner and Mr. N. de G. Davies, which is the classic work of reference regarding the decoration of an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb, has had no corresponding volume serving the same purpose for the Nineteenth Dynasty. *The Tomb of Amonmos* may possibly be taken as such, at least in the fulness of its ritual scenes, although these resemble those of Amenemhēt in their indifferent state of preservation. The tomb is situated in the Dirâ' Abu'n-Nága, and its owner was high priest of the deified Pharaoh Amenhotep I, patron of the Theban necropolis. The painted scenes are rich in detail, and frequently are reproduced by M. Foucart in two forms, as they appear in the early drawings by Hay and as they exist now. The comparison is, alas, a sad one. Scenes of special interest are the funeral procession (pl. 2), with the ceremony of sprinkling milk, discussed in some detail by the author in the accompanying volumes of text; the boat shrine of Queen Nefertari-Aāhmes (pl. 4), mother of Amenhotep I; the statue of Amenhotep being carried in procession (pl. 6); the worship of departed kings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (pl. 12); scenes of wrestling and single-stick fighting (pl. 13); and a statue of the deified Amenhotep being carried out of his temple. The scenes are well drawn and impressive in appearance, but throughout are strongly marked with that *embarras de richesses* which is so characteristic of Nineteenth Dynasty art.

A. 669. Alan W. Shorter.

LISTE DES STRATÈGES DES NOMES ÉGYPTIENS À L'ÉPOQUE GRÉCO-ROMAINE. By M. HENRI HENNE. L'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire: Tome LVI. 14 × 11, pp. xxii + 71 + 113. *Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut*, 1935.

This work has been expected for some time, and its publication was already announced as far back as 1927. It now appears, however, for the first time. The author takes the view, quite rightly, that for the study of the Nome and its administration, a close study of the "Stratège", the chief functionary of the Nome, is essential.

In order to accomplish this study it is considered necessary that there should be a complete list of the names, so far as can be ascertained. Until recently no such lists existed. To make a complete list was the original intention of the compiler, but in the present work the list of names of the Roman epoch compiled by Martin has been supplemented, and a list of names of the Ptolemaic period has been added, together with a complete alphabetical index. At some future date, it is the intention of the author to compile a complete list of names. This present work appears to have been carried out with the greatest care, and due note has been taken of other recent publications.

An encyclopædic work, such as this is, should long be the standard work on the subject, and should be of inestimable value in providing just that very information which otherwise is extremely difficult to obtain.

The alphabetical list, which occupies pages 89–113, and is arranged according to the Greek alphabet, should be of the greatest value, since it provides both the date and the reference for the names where such information is available.

A. 668. JOHN ROBERT TOWERS.

Far East

Hoang Ho-Pai Ho. Comptes-rendus de onze années (1923–1933) de séjour et d'exploration dans le Bassin du Fleuve Jaune, du Pai Ho et des autres tributaires du Golfe du Pei-Tcheu-Ly. No. 38 of *Publications du Musée Hoang Ho-Pai ho.* By Émile Licent, S.J. 12½ × 9½. Tome i, pp. 4 + 296, pls. xv ; 1935. Tome ii, pp. 297 to 718, pls. xvi–xxi ; 1936. Tome iii, pp. 719 to 1064, pls. xxii–xxxvi ; 1936. Tables, pp. 1065 to 1131 ; 1936. Charts, 77 + 21. 21¼ × 16½, n.d. Tientsin : Mission de Sienhsien.

These ponderous three volumes, a continuation of *Dix Années dans le Bassin du Fleuve Jaune et autres tributaires du Golfe du Pei-Tcheu-Ly*, published in 1924, consist of over a thousand quarto pages, in addition to a smaller volume containing index and table of contents and to the volume of maps and plates. They appear to be a reprint of unedited diaries recounting many years of devoted labour on the part of Father Licent. The work may be described as a combination of German attention to detail, French lucidity, and, one must add with regret, of an inability to distinguish between the essential and trivial.

It is far beyond the power of the present writer, and possibly of any reviewer, to criticize the mass of information collected with such labour and devotion. To do so a knowledge would be required of mineralogy, ornithology, geology, meteorology, archæology, anthropology, biology, entomology, and many other sciences as well as of the terrain, which includes the Sungari basin of Manchuria as well as the basins of the Huang Ho, Pai Ho, "and other rivers flowing into the Gulf of Pechili." Intermingled, however, with information of great interest and value, items constantly occur which jar the seeker after knowledge, but at the same time do not attract the interest of the casual reader. To show what is referred to, the following instances are given, one from each volume :—

Vol. 1, p. 57, recounts a case of hostility to a Catholic mission, and pp. 71 and 72 one of hostility to the author.

Vol. 2, pp. 688 and 689 are largely taken up with the difficulties and unpleasantnesses of travel by rail and road in China.

Vol. 3, p. 771. The author recounts with a wealth of detail his meeting in Japan with a gentleman who was about to return to France to take part in the Citroen Transasiatic Expedition.

The numerous photographs are not well reproduced according to European or American standards, and a large portion of them might have been omitted without lessening the value of the work.

The route surveys, of which 77 sheets of maps and photographs are given in a separate volume measuring 21 inches by 16, appear to have been carefully made. The printing has been done with commendable clearness.

A. 805. H. I. HARDING.

THE BIRTH OF CHINA: A SURVEY OF THE FORMATIVE PERIOD OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION. By HERRLEE GLESSNER CREEL. 8 × 5½, pp. 396; pls. 16; figs. 2 and map. London: Jonathan Cape, 1936. 15*s*.

Among the many thousands of books by Western writers on Chinese subjects, probably those relating to history are the least satisfying. A comprehensive history of China is so immense a task that it is almost beyond the capacity of one man; but, apart from that, the attempts have invariably suffered from our notion that the last few centuries of free intercourse with the West were of a major importance justifying treatment at grossly disproportionate length. Then there has been an apparent disregard of the fact that authentic records hardly began before the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period (722 B.C.). Traditional accounts of earlier ages have been accepted and set down as history, though they are mainly remnants of

folklore greatly distorted and obscured by idealists who sought to systematize the past, upholding the fiction that China started from a Utopia.

The truth is that the beginnings of Chinese civilization must be learnt afresh from material remains. The book under review is the first in a European language to make an attempt in accordance with the times. During four years of intensive study in China Dr. Creel gathered from Chinese scholars and personal observation the results of an extraordinary archæological activity which has marked the present century. His service to Western readers in thus making known these momentous revelations is specially notable, because hitherto they have been only partly accessible to the few who read Chinese. Take, for instance, the exploration of An-yang carried out since 1928 by the Academia Sinica. Four volumes of preliminary reports in Chinese have been published under the editorship of Dr. Li Chi; but they do not include the surprising yields from the so-called royal tombs which were opened systematically for the first time in 1934, though they had been plundered long ago. Only scanty reviews have been attempted on these preliminary reports—two by Dr. Eberhard in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* of 1932 and 1933, and two in this *Journal* of July, 1933, and July, 1935. Then there are the finds at the Hsin Ts'un cemetery which were briefly described last year in the Academia Sinica publication, entitled *T'ien yeh k'ao ku pao kao,* containing also accounts of other sites, some prehistoric. The Hsin Ts'un finds illuminate early Chou culture, linking it with the parent Shang-Yin. Again the medium is Chinese, and hardly any notice of these reports has appeared in a European language. One can well understand the lack of translations. Many of the conclusions are as yet but tentative, and years must elapse before the staff of the Academia Sinica can sort, photograph, study, and definitively pronounce upon the vast amount of excavated material. Mention should be made, too, of a field of research in which rapid advances have been made recently. A group

of Chinese scholars has re-examined inscriptions on bronzes with enterprise and critical acumen.

Therefore this book is needed by those eager for a comprehensive survey of the fresh and abundant clues to the great enigma of Chinese origins. Dr. Creel's aim has been "to make it readable, and as interesting as possible, for the general intelligent public". He has ably succeeded, and though he says that he has not written for specialists, certainly the specialists will be among his appreciative readers.

A. 722. W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

THE CRIMINAL CODE OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA. Translated into English by CHANG-LIN HSIA and BOYER P. H. CHU. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1936.

The British Criminal Law, like the British Constitution, seems to work fairly well without being put into writing, but there is no tendency in this country to believe that because we have no penal code, "the nations not so blessed as we" would be better off without one. Indeed, in each case of the surrender of British extra-territorial privileges in countries like Japan and Siam, the history of the antecedent negotiations shows the importance attached by our Government to the formulation of the codes, and especially the penal code, to which British subjects were to be subjected after surrender. The Chinese Criminal Code may perhaps be thought to be of more interest—from this point of view—than that of other foreign countries, inasmuch as China will soon be the only country in which extra-territorial jurisdiction still lingers. It is to be noted that in the "Memorandum for Treaty Modification" communicated by the British Government to the Chinese authorities in January, 1927, the Government declared themselves "prepared, as soon as the revised Chinese Penal Code is promulgated and applied in Chinese courts, to consider its application in British courts in China". In the subsequent negotiations which have been carried on with a view to the eventual abolition of British courts in China, the question of the suitability of Chinese codes has no doubt

occupied as prominent a position as it did in the above declaration.

The code, of which the present volume is a translation, came into force on 1st July, 1935, being the result of a revision by the Criminal Codification Commission of the Criminal Code of 1928, which in its turn was based on the Provisional Criminal Code of 1912. The translators observe that in China the revision of the 1918 code was necessary in order to make its provisions consistent with the social ideas and principles of the Kuomintang.

Book I contains twelve chapters on " General Provisions ", mostly in regard to punishments. " Principal " punishments are (1) death; (2) imprisonment for life; (3) imprisonment for a definite period (maximum twenty years); (4) detention (maximum four months); (5) fine. " Accessory " punishments are (1) deprivation of civil rights; (2) forfeiture. It will be noted that—in theory at least—the bamboo has disappeared from Chinese courts of justice. The method of carrying out sentences of death is not specified in the code.

Book II—" Specific Offences and Punishments "—sets forth thirty-five offences with their appropriate penalties. The only feature in this list which is noteworthy as a departure perhaps from usual legislation is in regard to adultery: it appears that, in the 1928 code, adultery on the part of a wife only was punishable, but after much discussion and as a result of protests from feminist societies in China, adultery of a husband and of a wife are now subject to the same penalty; the maximum, which in the 1928 code was two years, having been reduced to one year. The other party in the adultery is liable to the same punishment. Whether or not the treatment of adultery as a criminal offence is an expression of " the social ideas and principles of the Kuomintang ", it is quite in accordance with the practice of pre-Republican China, when a district magistrate, " the father and mother of the people," would naturally send a man or a woman to prison for immoral acts in violation of the basic principles of family life.

A. 808. W. P. KER.

MÉGALITHES DU HAUT-LAOS (HUA PAN, TRANH NINH). By Mlle. MADELEINE COLANI. 11 × 7. Vol. i, pp. 1–271 and pls. i–lxix; vol. ii, pp. 1–358, pls. lxx–cii; coloured pls. 2, map 1, many figs. Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et Histoire, 1935.

It is a great pleasure to welcome this important work upon the megaliths of Haut-Laos, French Indo-China—a *magnum opus* of the apparently delicate, but intrepid and indomitable little lady to whom we owe much for throwing light upon the prehistory of South-East Asia. Her two volumes are so filled with material that, in the short space allowed to a review, it is possible to do little more than give some slight idea of what they contain.

The book is divided into four parts, and the first deals with the ancient menhirs and the cromlechs (recent) of the Hua Pan Province, while the second treats of the ancient funerary monoliths of the Tran Ninh Province, comprising stone jars, stone disks, and bas reliefs, etc., funerary stones, and the cave at Ban Ang that was anciently used as a crematorium and columbarium. The first set of plates follows here at the end of vol. i. The second part is continued into the second volume, where the author describes her finds in the Ban Ang crematorium, the contents of the stone jars, and the objects excavated around them and the funerary stones.

The third part (second volume) is devoted to discussing the relative ages of the objects discovered and of the jars, the relative age of the most ancient objects from the Ban Ang cave, and the possible ages of the Tran Ninh stone jars, and the Hua Pan menhirs. After this, in the same part, the industries in connection with the ancient monuments, as exemplified in the author's discoveries, are considered—cutting and polishing of stone, the cornelian bead industry, ceramics and their decoration, glass objects and those of bronze and iron. Salt routes in relation to ancient monuments come under review and also such funerary rites in South-East Asia and elsewhere, as tend to throw light upon the author's

investigations. A comparison is made, too, between the stone images of South Sumatra and the bas reliefs of Tran Ninh, the stone jars of Kachar and those of Haut-Laos, etc. The part concludes with a section on the iron age in Malaya, based on the present writer's work, and a summary.

The fourth part is devoted to supplementary sections on ethnography, results of the microscopical examination of glass beads, indices, plate descriptions, addenda, etc., etc., as well as to the remainder of the plates, including two coloured plates of beads.

In some preliminary remarks Mlle. Colani makes it clear that the stone jars are funerary urns. Where suitable (fairly soft) rocks were found stone jars were made, but where the rocks were not easily workable (gneiss and mica schist), but split naturally into flakes, menhirs, with disks subtending them, were erected, as at San Kong Phan. It may be remarked here, however, that the menhirs are older than the jars.

The making of the menhirs is attributed by the present-day inhabitants of the district where they are found to one of the chiefs of the Kha Yeni who lived when the sky was very low.[1]

The menhirs are frequently set in rows, three or more deep, and such alignments are often parallel to footpaths. The disks are often subtended by the menhirs.[2] Both are rudely fashioned, the menhirs (as some near Malacca in the Malay Peninsula) being flakes, often of very considerable size, perhaps slightly shaped at the edges. The disks are recumbent, and various types of chambers are found below them. Some menhirs are without disks, though chambers are present. The objects found in connection with the menhirs come from around them and from the sepulchral chambers. They comprise small engraved stone disks of fine schistose rock, many of which have star-like designs upon their faces, pottery and bronze rings. Some slight human remains were found

[1] For a similar belief in British North Borneo about the sky having once been low *vide* the reviewer's *Studies in Religion, etc.*, p. 88.

[2] *Vide* pl. xiv, and p. 89, of *Papers on the Ethnology and Archæology of the Malay Peninsula* for an apparently similar association in that country.

in the chambers. The pottery, which is rough, though not thick, appears to have been made locally. It consists chiefly of unornamented bowls or cups with a slight foot. Some of the ware is scorched or smoked. One, at any rate, of the bronze objects found, a lime pot, may be comparatively recent. Its type is very similar to that of such articles still in use in Siam.

The general ascription of the menhirs is to the bronze age of South-East Asia.

Mlle. Colani describes also some modern Thai burials in which the grave is surrounded by a circle of standing stones, pieces of schist comparable to the Hua Pan menhirs, but smaller. The largest stone is at the head, the next largest at the feet. The body is covered with charcoal.

Some description of modern fetishes of stellar form and of stellar patterns is given for comparison with the stellar ornamentation of the small disks.

The next subject with which the author deals is that of the stone jars, and other monoliths, of Tran Ninh Province. Legend says that the jars, which are sometimes of great size, were for holding rice-wine or water, and that the Ho, who invaded the territories of the Pou Eun, mutilated them. It is curious that numbers of these sepulchral jars are, in fact, mutilated.

The jars are of various local rocks and some appear to have been made *in situ*; others not. They are both flat and rounded at the base, and are of varying sizes and shapes, some being over three metres in height, while the smallest do not much exceed one metre. The most curious are recumbent ovoid vessels with a chamber at either end. The hollows of the more ordinary jars in some cases occupy the greater part of the bodies, but in others are comparatively shallow.

Associated with the jars are large stone disks, which have been thought to be covers, but, as the author points out, these do not fit the jars, to which they are usually in fairly close proximity. The disks are not by any means always smooth on both surfaces, and some of them are mushroom-

shaped. In the case of the irregular disks, the broadest side is upwards. Possibly these objects may be tables for offerings,[1] and it seems likely that the jars may have originally had wooden covers.

A few disks and certain subspherical slabs have bas-reliefs depicting animals. Mlle. Colani puts forward evidence to show that some of these reliefs, at any rate, are representations of *Macacus andamanensis*.

The crematorium (and columbarium) in the cave at Ban Ang yielded various objects of an earlier date than those with which Mlle. Colani is chiefly concerned—among them a palæolithic-culture hand-axe and various neolithic-culture objects, including a shouldered axe, a stone quoit, cord-marked pottery, etc. Of less ancient date were two types of pottery vessels, one of a cup-like shape with a foot, the other a round-bottomed pipkin with an everted lip. Vessels of both types contained fragments of burnt bones. A small loop handle was sometimes found on the bodies of the pipkins below the lip, or occasionally two such handles set close together. Ceramic decoration was little developed. From these funerary urns came glass beads (orange, yellow, and blue) and some burnt bones.

Other objects found in the cave were an interrupted bracelet of bronze, interrupted ear-pendants in the same metal, and small bronze bells. Knife blades, a large spear blade, a smaller spear blade (or arrow-point), and what may be a ploughshare, all these in iron, were also discovered. A *Cypraea* shell, pierced for suspension, was another find.

Three of the *champs de jarres* are not far from the cave; others at a greater distance.

From the stone jars of these came blue, green, and black beads and there was charcoal[2] in the earth that they contained. In their neighbourhood were found cornelian beads (olive-

[1] Mlle. Colani suggests also that they may be derived from the ancient bronze drums of South-East Asia.

[2] Note the previous reference to charcoal with regard to modern burials.

shaped or sub-cylindrical), glass beads (green, rose, and terra cotta), as well as a few "pseudo-Roman" glass beads and pottery sherds treated with gum on the exterior [1] or on both faces. The contemporary pottery vessels were often of the round-bottomed pipkin type. Some pieces were found decorated with chevron patterns of parallel lines or with designs of a similar type, but curvilinear. Undoubtedly such ornamentation was produced with a comb-like tool. Iron knives and spearheads occurred, as did other articles in the same metal, and also some small articles in bronze, notably little bells, a coiled bracelet, and a human statuette. Further discoveries were neolithic implements and also some objects of comparatively recent manufacture.

In addition to the specimens from around the stone jars the author also deals with those from the *champs de pierres funéraires* (only mentioned casually in this review up to the present). These are found in the same province, the stones being, in some cases, intermingled with jars. The funerary stones can be divided into three classes, menhirs, dolmens, and recumbent stones, naturally rounded, worked a little by man, or intact. They are sometimes grouped in lines, several stones deep, more or less parallel to paths and appear to be of much the same materials as the jars. One or two of the clay vessels found near these stones and near the jars contained traces of human bones, but some of them were probably used to hold offerings.

The stone jars are of the iron age of South-East Asia, though Mlle. Colani believes that the stone age had not long passed away. She is, for various reasons, inclined to date them at about the first century of the Christian Era.

A. 642. IVOR H. N. EVANS.

[1] Modern Bajau pottery, made in the Tempasuk District of British North Borneo, is treated in this way.

RASSEN- UND KULTURGESCHICHTE DER NEGRITO-VÖLKER SUDÖST-ASIENS. Band I. By Dr. WALTER NIPPOLD. Studien zur Völkerkunde, Band 11. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$. pp. xii + 430, maps 4. Leipzig: Jordan and Gramberg, 1936. RM. 7.

This work deals for the most part with the Negritos of the Andaman Islands, the Malay Peninsula, and the Philippines, and mainly with special reference to their physical characteristics and culture, which latter is discussed in full detail. The author has mastered the literature which has accumulated on these and cognate subjects (and is represented by a very long bibliography at the end of his book), and he discusses it critically. Such a work as this is therefore extremely useful, and it has been very well done. The evidence is clearly set out and the reader is left to judge whether he can accept all the conclusions and inferences which the author has drawn from it.

The book is an amplification of an academic thesis accepted by the University of Göttingen and the author intends to supplement it by another volume dealing with Negrito religion.

A. 791. C. O. BLAGDEN.

LES PAYSANS DU DELTA TONKINOIS. Étude de Géographie Humaine. By PIERRE GOUROU. Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient. Vol. XXVII. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7$, pp. 666, pls. xlviii, figs. 119, maps 9. Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1936.

Cette thèse de doctorat, présentée en Sorbonne, est une étude magistrale sur le Delta du Tonkin,—région naturelle d'une parfaite uniformité qui comprend 15.000 km^2 dans les terres alluvionnaires du Fleuve Rouge et du Thai Binh.

Se prêtant à la culture intensive du riz, il nourrit 6.500.000 Annamites, soit une moyenne de 430 habitants par km^2. Cette densité de la population atteint le chiffre de 1.500 au

km^2 pour 460.000 h. et le dépasse pour 295 villages. La natalité est une des plus fortes du monde. L'excédent annuel des naissances est de 20 p. 1.000. Un homme âgé aurait une moyenne de 5 enfants vivants. Dans certains districts catholiques controlés par les missionnaires Européens, l'accroissement humain a été, en 14 ans, de 39%. Pour tout le Delta Tonkinois, l'excédent annuel est de 60 à 100.000 Annamites.

Les émigrations spontanées et organisées, n'absorbent que 14.800 unités par an. L'émigration dans la montagne du Tonkin, (qui est 10 fois moins peuplée) pourrait être amplifiée. L'Annamite répugne très fortement à la montagne à cause de son insalubrité et parce que le sol ne se prête pas à la culture du riz.

L'auteur s'applique ensuite à définir le village du Delta Tonkinois d'un type uniforme et original. Il y en a 7,000 sur 7·5 % de la superficie totale du pays. Il forme un bloc verdoyant, cloturé de hauts bambous qui le protègent mieux que des murailles de pierre. Il s'administre lui-même, jouit d'une réelle autonomie politique, perçoit les impôts, possède des terres. Les édifices publics comprennent la maison commune, qui est en même temps le temple du génie du village, la pagode boudhique, les temples des lettres et de la guerre, les autels aux morts. Les Annamites, très attachés à leur village, y mênent une vie sociale et religieuse d'une intensité extraordinaire. Ils habitent des maisons, d'aspect uniforme, simples mais solides et dignes, juste posées sur le sol et le plus souvent au toit de paille.

Les paysans du Delta Tonkinois vivent de la culture du riz. Il y a 500.000 hectares de rizières à deux récoltes. Le rendement moyen étant de 1.400 kilog. par hectare, il y a 22 millions de quintaux de riz pour tout le pays. Malgré son énorme densité, la consommation locale s'équilibre. La sous-alimentation est manifeste sous le rapport des éléments azotés et graisseux. Bien que le poisson sec ou frais soit un appoint très important, la viande de porc n'est point de tous les repas

pauvres. Les viandes de bœuf ou de buffle sont à peu près inconnues.

Le surpeuplement laisse disponible sur place une main d'oeuvre abondante qui fournit aux cultures alimentaires, aux cultures industrielles (sériciculture, poteries, vanneries, etc.) à la pêche, à l'élevage. Mais les Annamites du Delta vivent en économie fermée. Ils achètent et vendent peu. Leur contribution au commerce mondial est presque nulle. Le mouvement d'affaires avec les autres pays de l'Indochine et l'étranger peut être évalué à 300 millions de francs soit moins de 50 francs par paysan. L'indice de niveau de vie confirme ces faits. Une famille de cinq personnes d'aisance moyenne dépense 800 francs papier par an ; la même famille pauvre seulement 450 ou 500 francs, soit une dépense quotidienne de 2 fr. 15 ou de 1 fr. 35 à 1 fr. 20.

Le Delta Tonkinois surpeuplé trouve dans un travail intense le riz nécessaire à sa subsistance. La pauvreté et la sous-alimentation en viande et graisse n'affectent pas sa prolificité. L'équilibre moral et social reste remarquable. L'œuvre des autorités françaises doit se poursuivre avec prudence et sagesse, dans le cadre de cette civilization traditionnelle Annamite qui a fait ses preuves.

A. 796. DR. JOSEPH VASSAL.

Middle East

ASSAMESE GRAMMAR AND ORIGIN OF THE ASSAMESE LANGUAGE, WITH AN INTRODUCTION CONTAINING A SHORT HISTORY OF ASSAMESE LITERATURE. By KALIRAM MEDHI. 10 × 6¾, pp. cxxiii + 539. Gauhati: Published by the Author, 1936. Rs. 6.

It is perhaps a matter for surprise that the Assamese language should have had to wait so long for a full and comprehensive grammar, although other languages in India have been so fully dealt with by competent scholars. Assamese, it is true, has been to some extent noticed by Robinson in his grammar, printed at Serampore as far back as the year 1839,

and by Nathan Brown in *Grammatical Notices of the Assamese Language* (Sibsagar, 1848), and by Bronson in his *Dictionary of the Assamese Language* (Sibsagar, 1867), and lastly by G. F. Nicholl in his *Assamese Grammar* of 1885, which suffers from the same defect as the Bengali grammar by the same author, that it is in the Roman character only. Mr. Medhi's work could hardly be improved upon; it has been very fully documented throughout, and from the well reasoned discussions it contains shows the immense amount of industry and care which have been exercised in its preparation. Mr. Medhi is to be heartily congratulated on the result of what must have been many years' labour. The format and printing of the work, moreover, leave nothing to be desired, and the price is a most moderate one, i.e. in cloth Rs. 6 only.

The author says with reference to the origin and growth of the language that these "are not so simple and clear as we generally suppose". He discards the theory that Assamese is a daughter of Sanskrit, although later in his introduction he says "we may say that almost the whole of the Assamese grammar and vocabulary, except the elements of a few other languages, noticed later on, are to be found in Sanskrit". He adds: "Assamese, like Hindusthạni, is Vedic or pre-Vedic Sanskrit, although it has greatly assimilated various other elements, notably of the Bodo group." It is a question, however, whether the author should not have written Hindī for "Hindusthani" in view of the fact that there is a very considerable admixture of Persian words in Hindustani. The author has not confined himself to the standard form of the language, but has noticed the dialects of Assamese in current use in the Brahmaputra Valley, e.g. the language of Lower Assam, which Assamese of the upper districts call "Dekhari". The spelling adopted is that of the Hemakosha, which has been long considered to be the standard dictionary of the language. There are four introductions covering cxxiv pages of print, all in English. These are most interesting and deserve careful study.

Turning to grammar the author finds that Assamese pronunciation is, in several particulars, peculiar and unlike that found in the modern vernaculars of Eastern India. He says: "Assamese has really no cerebrals." The Sanskrit cerebrals are pronounced in Assamese half-cerebral and half-dental, rather more dental than cerebral. "The Assamese pronunciation of the sibilants is peculiar in India and evidently a relic of the pre-Vedic Aryan pronunciation." The author quotes Mr. Brown, who says that the Assamese pronunciation of *sh* is akin to the Greek pronunciation of the Greek letter χ, e.g. *kes* ('hair'), *barṣana* 'rain', *sāthi* ('sixty'), and *son* ('gold'). Here we may compare Nicholl's statement on p. 325 of his grammar. Attention is drawn to the remarks (pp. lvi, lvii, et seq.). Khasi does not belong to the Kuki-chin group of languages, but to the Mon-Khmer, of the Austro-Asiatic group, *vide* remarks of Sir George Grierson and Pater Schmidt of Vienna.

The Alphabet.—In the printed Assamese books the whole of the letters are the same as those used in Bengali except ৰ and ৱ. Nowadays Assamese frequently write র, as in Bengali, instead of ৱ, and do not often distinguish ৱ from ব. The emissives ঃ *h* (*bisarga*), *anusvār* ং and the *chandra-bindu*, or *anunāsik* (moon dot ঁ), are also in use. There are the same compound letters as in Bengali.

Pronunciation.—Here I cannot do better than quote from Nicholl. "The vowel powers are in many respects the same as in Bengali, but there are several points of difference, notably the short *a*, with its varying and conventional sounds, presents difficulties which are not easily overcome. This vowel fluctuates between the long and short *o* of *to-morrow*, and the meaning of a word depends on its proper utterance; thus *kalá* (= *kolá*) "black", but *kalá* (= *kŏlá*) "deaf"; *mah* (= *moh*) "buffalo", but *mah* (= *mŏh*) "mosquito". Much more could be written on the subject of pronunciation, and

indeed generally regarding this most interesting and valuable work, but unfortunately space does not permit.

In conclusion may I commend this grammar to all students of the Assamese language and to philologists and ethnologists generally.

A. 865. P. R. GURDON.

THE ROAD TO OXIANA. By ROBERT BYRON. 8 × 5½, pp. viii + 341, ills. 16, maps 5. London: Macmillan, 1937. 10*s*. 6*d*.

The value of this work is that its author has visited and described authoritatively practically all the Moslem monuments in Iran and Afghanistan. He especially eulogizes the *Gunbad-l-Kabus*, situated to the north-west of Astrabad, the capital of the erstwhile Hyrcania; and he pours out in beautiful language his intense admiration for the exquisite mosque of Gauhar Shad at Meshed, which he considers to be the finest example of Moslem art in Central Asia.

Throughout the book the reader realizes that Mr. Byron's judgment is based on deep knowledge of his subject. Apart from this, his description of scenery is delightful, and his travel comments are interesting and amusing, although he certainly does not suffer Oriental red tape patiently. His illustrations are excellent and complete a really valuable book which distinctly fills a gap.

A. 847. P. M. SYKES.

India

GAṆEŚA: A MONOGRAPH ON THE ELEPHANT-FACED GOD. By ALICE GETTY. With an Introduction by ALFRED FOUCHER. 11¼ × 9, pp. xxiii + 103, pls. 42, figs. 8. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936. 42*s*.

In her monograph on Gaṇeśa, Miss Getty presents a mass of carefully arranged information regarding the history of this strange deity, not only in India proper, but also in Greater

India and the Far East. The Introduction, from the able pen of M. Alfred Foucher, gives a lucid account in what manner Gaṇeśa must have risen from the crowd of animal-headed *gaṇas* to become first their lord and leader and, finally, the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. It is not surprising that Gaṇeśa is one of the most popular members of the Hindu Pantheon, considering that his chief function is the removal of obstacles. Hence his epithets *vighnapa*, *vighnanāśana*, etc. Obstacles may also present themselves in the acquisition of learning, as is testified in a well-known stanza from the *Pañcatantra* (*bahavaś ca vighnāḥ*). This explains why Gaṇeśa is often regarded as a patron of letters (pp. 4, 5). Legends relating to him are few in number; they evidently serve the purpose of accounting for Gaṇeśa's most conspicuous features—his elephant-head (pp. 6–7) and his single tusk (p. 15).

Miss Getty's book is illustrated by means of an imposing number of well-chosen and well-reproduced Gaṇeśa figures, in stone and metal, from India, Further India, Indonesia, Tibet, Turkestan, China, and Japan. While the author offers us such a wealth of iconographical materials, it would seem ungrateful to wish for more; yet we deplore the absence of the curious terra-cotta panel from Bhītargaon, mentioned by M. Foucher (p. xx). There is also the inscribed bronze image, still worshipped at Brahmor (Sanskrit Brahmapura), the former capital of Chamba State. The specimens from the Malay Archipelago, reproduced in plates 29–32, are very representative, and include some marvellous examples of Indo-Javanese art. The fine little bronze in the Leyden Museum (pl. 32*a*) we feel inclined to attribute to the Pāla School of Eastern India. The "bronze figure from Borneo" (pl. 32*b*) has a strange, almost spurious, appearance. We doubt whether it really comes from Borneo, which is not known otherwise to have produced bronze statuettes of Hindu gods. As to the little bronze from Bali, which was presented to the Kern Institute by Dr. Korn (not Kern!), the author is probably right in assigning it an Indo-Chinese origin. The

plates include a few reproductions of miniatures (two in colours) and drawings. Those of the frontispiece and plate 12, which are described as "Rajput", I would attribute to the Kangra School. In a fine miniature (pl. 11) from the "Bibliothèque Nationale", Gaṇeśa is shown seated between two female figures whom the author tentatively identifies as Buddhi and Siddhi. Cannot the lady with the *vīnā*, sitting on a lotus-seat to the right of the god, be Sarasvatī? The other, standing with a chowree behind him, appears to be merely a menial. The text contains few misprints. *Bhāla candra* (p. 16, also in *Stotra*) should be *Bāla°*; for *Chantal* (p. 55) read *Changal*, for *Bhaṭṭārī-guru* (p. 60), *Bhaṭṭāra-°*; in title of pl. 22*c*, read *Kaṇṭaka-Cetiya.*

We conclude this review by congratulating the authoress on the completion of her work which is a very welcome addition to our knowledge of Greater Indian iconography.

A. 745. J. PH. VOGEL.

JAINA CHITRAKALPADRUMA. A Treatise in Gujarātī on Jain *Art in Gujarāt from early times down to the 20th* Century. By SARABHAI MANILAL NAWAB. 10 × 7½. pp. 16 + 232, pls. cvii. Ahmadabad, 1936.

The sub-title of this beautifully illustrated work represents it as being a collection of characteristic specimens of Gujarātī Jain art, and it is obvious that the illustrations, many of which are in colour, are the most important part of the book. These cover the complete development of pre-Mughal Indian painting as utilized by the Śvetāmbara Jains of Gujarāt for the embellishment of their manuscripts; it is curious that the Digambaras did not begin to illustrate their books till the seventeenth century. Although a few Vaishṇava works are known, it is clear that the Gujarātī school flourished largely upon Jain patronage. It is not unique, however, for Buddhist works emanating from Eastern India exist, and in the Oriya country the style was preserved until the beginning

of the seventeenth century. It may be said that medieval Indian painting, including the work of both these areas, is distinguished by its use of the stylus and dye-colours on palm-leaf. Paper intrudes later as a substitute for palm-leaf without altering the style appreciably. It was left to the Mughals to introduce a new technique, Persian in origin, like all the fashions of their courts, the use of tempera colours on a ground prepared with lime. If it is convenient to create a subdivision of this school, so as to group together the proliferation of the fashion in numerous petty courts, and to call this subdivision "Rajput", it cannot be denied that these paintings are technically one with the Mughal paintings and distinct from the works of the older school of Gujarāt and Eastern India. That this school was not merely local or provincial is proved by the occurrence in the Gujarātī paintings of many motives and mannerisms which can be traced direct to the Byzantine tradition.

This volume comes from more than one hand; for instance, an excellent chapter upon writing and writing materials is contributed by Muni Punyavijayaji. As a whole the text is good, though the presentation of the essential fact is sometimes a little obscure and often tantalizing in its bland reliance upon nominalism. The whole volume is, however, obviously the production of enthusiasts, and is in itself a valuable contribution. A condensed English translation would be welcome.

A. 682. K. de B. CODRINGTON.

THE ASOKAN ROCK AT GIRNĀR. By HIRANANDA SASTRI. Published under the authority of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda. Gaekwad's Archaeological Series, No. ii, $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9$, pp. viii + 58. Baroda: State Press, 1936. Rs. 1-3-0.

Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Director of Archæology in Baroda State, has achieved a very useful piece of work. He tells us that he found visitors who had been to Girnār returning

disappointed at not finding the means to understand the inscriptions. He has therefore issued the fourteen rock-inscriptions of Aśoka, as found at Girnār, with the inscription of Rudradāman and that of Skandagupta in the same place. The text is given in Devanāgarī, with a transliteration and an English translation. He does not pretend to originality, as the Aśokan portion, he tells us, is based on the transcript and translation of Hultzsch, with only a few slight changes here and there. Similarly in the historical notes on Aśoka he has based his remarks on Vincent Smith. He never ventures to contradict this authority, and does not seem to be aware that Hultzsch's translation is in conflict with Vincent Smith. Hence the same word is recorded in the index both as a river of South India and as Ceylon. There are some discrepancies between the Devanāgarī, the transliteration, and the translation of the inscription of Rudradāman. But as it is very difficult for the general reader to know where to find any trustworthy record or interpretation, the present production will be welcomed both as an introduction to the subject and as a convenient *vade mecum* for the visitor.

A. 823. E. J. Thomas.

Daśopanishads. With the Commentary of Sri Upanishad-Brahma-Yogin. Vol. I. Published for the Adyar Library (Theosophical Society), 1935.

We are indebted to the Theosophical Society for having made a considerable number of manuscripts in its possession accessible to a wide public by issuing commented editions of them. Thus, besides the present volume, which contains the first eight of the Major Upaniṣads, namely Īśa, Kena, Katha, Praśna, Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya, Taittirīya, and Aitareya, there have already appeared in this series the ninety-eight Minor Upaniṣads with the same commentary, and, in another volume, seventy-one more Upaniṣads, most of which had never been published before (Preface).

The commentator, Sri Upanishad-Brahma-Yogin, doubtless belongs to the Advaita school of Śankara. His method, however, consists not so much in giving a proper sub-commentary on the lines of the Advaita school, but rather in boiling down, sometimes too much,[1] Śaṅkara's detailed explanations through similes which are such a valuable means of logical evidence.

On the other hand, B.'s commentary is a welcome contribution to our Upaniṣadic knowledge in that it supplies a deficiency of Śaṅkara's work by commenting also on the first three chapters in the second Āraṇyaka of the Aitareyāraṇyaka, the commentary on which, if it has existed at all, has at any rate not come down to us. In the editor's opinion, however, the fact that B. has commented on these chapters tends to prove that there is an Advaita tradition based on Śaṅkara also with regard to them. This seems to be confirmed by Śaṅkara himself, when, at the beginning of his *second* adhyāya (the fifth of the original Aitareyāraṇyaka) he refers back to his *first* adhyāya with the surprising words: "In this fourth adhyāya . . ."

A. 492 BETTY HEIMANN.

THE LEGACY OF INDIA. Edited by G. T. GARRATT, with an introduction by the MARQUESS OF ZETLAND. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. xviii + 428, ills. 24, map 1. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1937. 10*s*.

This small volume deals with the culture of India by means of a series of specialist studies. Hinduism is entrusted to Professor Radhakrishnan, language and literature to Dr. F. W. Thomas, while art and archæology are dealt with by K. de B. Codrington. The Editor reserves for himself a brief essay on Indo-British Civilization. It is clear that the object of this work is primarily to focus information already available to scholars in well-known works; and, in some respects, this object has been admirably achieved. On the other hand, the obvious omissions are in some instances more remarkable

[1] Cf. e.g. in *Ait Up.*

than the contents. In thirty pages devoted to an exposition of Hinduism we learn very little of the fiercer aspects of the creed as practised by the Śaiva section of the community; and the writer is content to sum up the character of a Hindu in the following words: "Everyone is a Hindu who strives for truth by study and reflection, by purity of life and conduct, by devotion and consecration to high ideals, who believes that religion rests not on authority but on experience" (p. 277). No reference here will be found to the generally accepted tests of respect for the Brāhmaṇ, reverence for the Vedas, and acceptance of the system of caste. If this definition of a Hindu is to prevail, it would hardly seem reasonable to claim Hinduism as the legacy of India. It may also be observed that Mr. R. P. Masani, in describing caste, almost entirely ignores the existing literature on caste as it at present exists, to which valuable additions have been made in recent years. He presents a picture which can with difficulty be held to portray the present system of caste prevailing in India, at least to those who are not thoroughly acquainted previously with its bewildering complexity. Perhaps, as the writer of the introduction seems to hint, the editor's own contribution lends itself most to criticism; and the estimate of the results of the British connection which Mr. Garratt holds clearly requires modification. It would be extremely difficult to justify from the results of personal experience the conclusion that "towards the end of the nineteenth century it was becoming obvious that the English in India had nothing in common with the growing mass of educated Indians, and as a measure of their failure, they emphasized without much justification their special interest in the illiterate peasantry" (p. 403).

Such a sweeping indictment in a work of this description should not be allowed to pass without challenge.

It is also remarkable that even in an obviously brief account of Anglo-Indian literature no mention should be made of the beautiful poems of Laurence Hope, or the novels of Sarah

Jeannette Duncan. On the whole, this little work would have gained much by more cautious editing. We note that the much-disputed tradition of St. Thomas's visit to India is taken as an established historical fact (p. 259), and that the New College Jesuit who visited that country in 1539 appears both as Father Stevens and Father Stephens. The latter is the correct spelling.

A. 877. R. E. ENTHOVEN.

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1. TATTVABINDU WITH TATTVAVIBHĀVANĀ. Edited by V. A. RAMASVAMI SASTRI. Annamalai University Sanskrit Series, No. 3. 10 × 6½, pp. xix + 197 + 161 + 57. Chidambaram: Annamalai University, 1936. Rs. 3.
2. SVARASIDDHĀNTA CANDRIKĀ. By ŚRĪNIVĀSAYAJVAN. Edited by K. A. SIVARAMAKRISHNA SASTRI. Annamalai University Sanskrit Series, No 4. 10 × 6½, pp. x + lvii + 473. Chidambaram: Annamalai University, 1936. Rs. 5.

The Annamalai University Sanskrit Series had not previously come to the notice of the present reviewer; of the two volumes named above the first is an edition of a tract by Vācaspati Miśra, which, though published once long ago, is still little known, accompanied by a hitherto unknown commentary, and deals with the various Pūrvamīmāmsā theories in explanation of the association between a word and its meaning. The second is a late seventeenth century commentary on those *sūtras* of Pāṇini which lay down the rules of accentuation; it takes its illustrations almost entirely from the *Yajurveda*. In both cases, so far as I can see, the Sanskrit text is competently edited, but both editors follow the bad habit, much too prevalent in India, of prefixing a lengthy introduction of a roving character, which has little or no relevance to the text being edited. In neither case is the matter so intruded of any real value or originality, and the editors would have been better advised to use the space for the

further elucidation of the texts; the first might have been translated in full for instance, and the more interesting points raised by the second might have been discussed and elaborated.

A. 786, 787. E. H. Johnston.

Étude sur le Mahāvairocana-Sūtra (Dainichikyō). By R. Tajima. Ouvrage subventionné par l'Institut de *Civilization Indienne et l'Institut d'Études Japonaises* de l'Université de Paris, et par la Société Japonaise pour le Développement des Relations culturelles internationales. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xx + 186 + 13, pls. 12. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1936.

Professor Tajima's essay has not only the good credentials given above, but the excellent backing of having been inspired by Sylvain Lévi, his *vénéré maître*, not to mention endorsement by Messrs. Foucher, Honorat, and Satsuma. It consists in an introduction on the so-called esotericism of the school of Shingon (or Mantra) Buddhism, as introduced into Japan from China about A.D. 806 by Kobo Daishi (disciple while there of a disciple of Amoghavajra), followed by a description of the titular Sūtra, known in Japan as the Dainichikyō. This is followed by a "general study" of the Sūtra, by a translation of the first chapter, an analysis of the same, and a résumé of the remainder.

There is never an end to man's manipulations of words: Dainichikyō is the Japanese corruption of Daibirushana, which is the Chinese corruption of Mahā-vairocana, great illuminator, i.e. the sun, and a patronymic, as we know, of the Buddha. The Sūtra appears to have been adopted by the Shingon "school" (which I prefer to "sect", the more usual term), but to have been oddly passed over by "Western specialists"—a fact which my own inquiries endorse.

The essay seems to be a very finished, very careful specimen of Eastern scholarship, sharpened, widened by contact with French Indological culture. The author, so far as I can judge,

has no reason to blush for his courage in speaking to us in French. And in his translation he gives us Sanskrit and Tibetan originals at every step. He does well, for who could have guessed that "de la non-existence et de l'existence à la fois" was, in the text, an opposing of *śūnyatā* and *bhava*, "vacuity" and "becoming"? I would only demur to his partiality for capitals—why should "heart", "passions," "earth," "time," etc., get thus a peacock-feather sublimity? Nor do I like "cœur" (heart) for *citta* (mind). It is true that "inwardness" would seem to be more present here than in Pāli exegesis. But *hṛdaya* also meant that, and was to hand, a matter our Pāli translators have failed to note. At the same time there is this excuse for a French translation, that no such word as *mens* "mind" is to hand.

The substance of the first chapter for a purely imaginative creation like this Sūtra, is the lofty, impressive idea of the "man", under the name of Vajradhara (lightning-bearer), questioning the deified Buddha on all the deepest things we fain would know. That the man is told the source of enlightenment lies within his own nature in the self—here called *citta*! a curious survival of Hīnayāna—is noteworthy. It is older than Hīnayāna; it is older than pre-Hīnayāna Buddhism.

A. 742. C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

Aspects of Bengali Society from Old Bengali Literature. By Tamonash Chandra Das Gupta. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xl + 371, pls. 5. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1935.

The title of this book, which is published under the auspices of the University of Calcutta, would lead one to suppose that it dealt mainly with the manners and customs and the social life of old Bengal. As a matter of fact, it contains chapters on the birds of Bengal, Bengali architecture, shipbuilding and commerce, musical instruments and weapons. Other subjects dealt with are clothing, ornaments, cookery, games, religion,

education, and the castes. Only one short chapter is devoted to manners and customs, and this one chapter, of twelve pages, has to suffice for such a medley of subjects as ordeals, marriage and dowry, *jaypatra*, charms, freedom of women, garland and sandal-paste, passport, penance, fondness for the dog, and luxuriant hair.

The period covered is only very vaguely defined. The works from which information is drawn "roughly cover a few centuries—possibly those between the tenth and the eighteenth centuries" (p. xxii). There is no discussion of the date of the different works, and in most cases there is not even any indication of the author's opinion on the point. It is doubtful whether any of the works referred to can be dated so early as the tenth or even the eleventh century.

No attempt has been made to distinguish between conditions prevailing in one part and those prevailing in another part of the eight centuries under review. One would particularly like to know at what point, if at any, in the history of Bengal, "girls were equally educated with the boys" (p. xxxvii). A good example of the loose chronology of the book is the statement on p. 86 that "Bengal was under Mahommedan rule for nearly eight centuries."

It is unfortunate that the writer's knowledge of English is so inadequate that at times it is very difficult, if not impossible, to guess what he means. There is a "bibliography", but it contains in most cases no indication of editions or place of publication. Page references are of no use unless one knows what edition is meant. The author says he has in some cases used old Bengali manuscripts, but he has not told us anything about these manuscripts or where they are to be found.

The faults and defects of the book are the more to be regretted as it contains such a large amount of interesting and valuable information which might be very useful to students if it were arranged and treated in a more scholarly and critical manner.

A. 587. W. SUTTON PAGE.

LA PEINTURE IRANIENNE SOUS LES DERNIERS 'ABBASIDES ET LES ÎL-KHÂNS. By IVAN STCHOUKINE. 11¼ + 9. pp. 188, pls. xlvi, figs. 134. Bruges: Imprimerie Ste. Catherine, 1936. £2 10s.

The study of Persian miniature painting has made such progress in recent years that a detailed survey of some part of the subject matter, such as illuminated manuscripts of the *Shāh-nāma* or of a restricted period is now the course most likely to yield fruitful results. No period contains more unsolved problems or involves more interesting questions than the earliest from which we have any surviving miniatures. This is the subject treated in a new book published by the well-known authority on Indian and Persian painting, M. Ivan Stchoukine, under the ægis of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Its title, *La Peinture Iranienne sous les derniers 'Abbāsides et les Îl-Khāns*, is explicit and indicates the author's inclusion of the manuscripts of the so-called Mesopotamian school as Iranian. The same decision was made by the Committee of the Persian Exhibition in London, in 1931, and is certainly justifiable in view both of the connection of the miniatures of this period with the earlier art of Iran and also of the thorough Iranianism of the court of Baghdad under the 'Abbāsids.

M. Stchoukine has given a *catalogue raisonné* of thirty-one illustrated manuscripts produced between A.H. 605 (A.D. 1209) and 755 (1354) and now in the libraries of Cairo, Paris, Leningrad, Istanbul, London, New York, Edinburgh, Oxford, Vienna, Madrid, and Rampur. Three of the most important are widely divided amongst many collections. Such a catalogue will be of great service to any future student of the subject. There is only one important omission from it, a manuscript of Kalila wa Dimna, from which miniatures are to be found in a number of French and American collections. It is of crucial importance even though the date, 1237, usually attached *to it cannot probably be substantiated. It cannot, however,* be put later than the end of the thirteenth century.

The miniatures in this catalogue are the material on which M. Stchoukine has based his study. It is preceded by a critical survey of the literature on the subject, since it began to be studied in the West about thirty years ago, and by a résumé of archaeological evidence for the practice of painting in Iranian lands from the beginning of the Sasanian period. This is summed up by the author in these words: "L'Iran sâsânide possédait une peinture florissante que la conquête arabe ne détruit pas entièrement. Les traditions de cet art s'étant conservées, refleurissent rapidement sur le sol natal." All the evidence here collected by M. Stchoukine goes to show that painters were patronized by the 'Abbāsids and that there was opportunity for them to be influenced by Sasanian painting, examples of which were undoubtedly at hand for them to imitate. What do we know of this Sasanian style? Though our knowledge is still only fragmentary, everything goes to show that it was an illusionistic figure style, whose connections were with the lands of the eastern Mediterranean. Nothing could be further removed from the Persian miniature style as it ultimately developed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; a style of concepts set down in a colour pattern, essentially on one plane, without attempt at illusion or interest in movement. If we grant, as we must, that both these styles should be called Iranian, how are we to explain the apparently complete break in tradition in painting, in view of a cultural continuity which is none the less marked in spite of the adoption of the modern Persian language and the Arabic script?

The actual break in Iranian painting tradition occurred, not at the time of the Arab conquest, but in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at the time of the Mongol conquests. Such cataclysmic events might well have caused a breach in national life. But it is well known that Iranian culture passed through this period without suffering any such break. Nor is it the case that the earlier art is broadly that of the west of Iran, the later, that of the east. The typical Timurid style

first took its rise in the kingdom of Jalā'ir sultān, centred at Baghdad and Tabriz.

The problem of the evolution of the Timurid style out of the Mongol is thus a comparatively simple one. M. Stchoukine finds the clue to be the "Demotte" *Shāhnāma*, that superb copy of the Book of Kings, large in size and in the breadth of handling, from which eighteen pages formed a magnificent group at the Burlington House Exhibition of 1931. He accepts the date of about 1330 put forward by Mr. Wilkinson and the reviewer, and points out that this would agree with the date of the revival of the library at Tabriz under Ghiyath al-Dīn. This was destroyed in 1336 and he assumes that the book, being then unfinished, was completed for the first Jalā'ir, Shaykh Hasan-Buzurg, who is known from the literary sources as a patron. This suggestion is not only convincing in itself, but provides just that historical connection which is demanded by stylistic continuity. M. Stchoukine further distinguishes in the miniatures of this manuscript, of which fifty-five are known to him, three phases (1) the decline of Chinese influence (2) the Iranian recrudescence, (3) the decadence of the Mongol school. In general these three characteristics are more or less present throughout the book, while in some miniatures one element is stronger, in another, another. What was happening was the digestion of Chinese influence. But there really seems no reason why miniatures representing different stages in this process should not be contemporaneous, for no doubt a large number of artists was employed on the book. No political event, like the replacement of the Īl-khānī rulers by Uzbeks, was likely to have a profound effect, and in fact, in the miniatures from a Kalila wa Dimna, now preserved at Istanbul in the University Library (Stchoukine, No. xxx) (which must be placed, on costume and textile design, somewhere about 1370 rather than about 1350) still show a very strong and only partly digested Chinese influence.

M. Stchoukine's book is perhaps of greatest value in stressing the continuity of tradition in Persian miniature painting during

the fourteenth century. In arguing for an equal continuity during the preceding centuries he seems to us to be on more doubtful ground. The evidence of Sasanian and early Islamic metal work which M. Stchoukine uses to support his thesis is by no means so clearly on his side. In a recent study of part of this material in the *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Dr. Kurt Erdmann has traced the treatment of one subject, the hunting scene, on the silver dishes from the early Sasanian period to about the twelfth century. His arrangement of the material reveals a remarkable conservatism of iconography coupled with just that fundamental change from a naturalistic to a decorative art which has been suggested at the opening of this review as characteristic of the passage from the Sasanian to the Timurid period. And in this connection it is worth noting that precisely some of those dishes which M. Stchoukine uses as evidence for the occurrence of the conventions of the miniature painters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the earliest Islamic period, are placed by Dr. Erdmann from one to several centuries later (cf. pls. xxiii*a* and *b*, xxvi*a*). Though we are far from wishing to deny any Sasanian influence in the earliest Iranian miniature painting known to us, we still consider the origin of this school to be an unsolved mystery.

M. Stchoukine's book is an important treatment of this problem, which is of interest to historians as well as specialists and art lovers. It is the first treatment of the subject on a scale large enough to allow details to fall into place and the lines of a challenging theory to emerge. For its consideration our greatest need is a full study of Sasanian art. It may well be that such study would show it with connections, through Parthia, with the Mediterranean world more prominently than with the older art of the Iranian plateau or of Mesopotamia. Only when this has been done will it be possible to assess the proportions of east Mediterranean and autochthonous elements in the 'Abbāsid style.

A. 916 BASIL GRAY.

Art, Archaeology, Anthropology

ANCIENT CHINESE BRONZE MIRRORS. By R. W. SWALLOW. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 78, ills. 103. Peiping: H. Vetch, 1937. 12*s*. 6*d*.

Several of the best among the few critical writings on Chinese mirrors the author of this book seems not to have consulted—the pioneer studies of Tomioka Kenzō, for instance, and two articles by Lo Chên-yü in the first series of his *Liao chü tsa chu* 遼居雜著, published in 1929. But the most important in a European language is Professor Karlgren's essential work, "Early Chinese Mirror Inscriptions," which appeared in Stockholm three years ago in the sixth *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*. Had Mr. Swallow been acquainted with the last-mentioned, his translations might have been better.

The book under review contains much interesting matter and good photographs of 103 mirrors, many of which have not been published before. A prominent feature is the author's assumption, hardly justified, that a large group should be associated with either the Ch'in State or the short-lived dynasty which preceded the Han. In an appendix Mr. S. J. F. Jensen, of Shanghai, gives the metallic composition of six mirrors of various periods, affording a useful comparison with the results from the analysis of eight mirrors reported by Mr. Chikashige Masumi in the *Journal of the Chemical Society*, of 1920, though the latter are not mentioned.

A. 870. W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

Cuneiform

A DICTIONARY OF ASSYRIAN CHEMISTRY AND GEOLOGY. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON. 9 × 6, pp. xlviii + 266. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936. 21*s*.

Twelve years ago, in his *Assyrian Herbal*, Dr. Thompson published the results of his long researches into the names of plants found in cuneiform texts, particularly in the scientific bilingual lists from the Nineveh library, and thereby

established his authority in this department of learning. Shortly afterwards his book *On the Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians* investigated the ingredients, methods, and products of the glass-makers as set forth in their surviving recipes; these two studies laid the foundation for the work which he now presents in the more readable form conferred by the typography of the Clarendon Press. The principal part, as the title implies, is a complete list of all the substances which the Assyrians designated by the signs for "stone" and "earth", the former of which, if Dr. Thompson's results are correct, has to be understood in a very wide sense, for it would include not only glass but a number of chemical products including colouring matters. This list is not ordered alphabetically in the usual dictionary form, but follows generally the grouping of the Assyrian texts which were arranged on a natural basis. With a few exceptions each term is made the subject of a discussion aiming at its identification, so that the main part of the book is really a collection of articles in which philology and natural science (including medicine) co-operate in the task of discovering what stones and chemicals were known to the Assyrians, and what uses they made of them.

A long introduction is devoted to more general subjects, such as the methods of the Assyrians in classification, the glass-makers' texts, earlier and later, the kinds of beads and means of colouring stones, and the transmission of Babylonian names of things to the classical and the modern world, which shows a number of very remarkable derivations, some perhaps hazardous, but the majority hardly to be doubted. And here it may be added, since the author's readiness to appeal to other languages, even the non-Semitic, might be criticized, that he always gives fair warning if he is drawing a long bow, and is more often justified by the soundness of his method, which is to rely more upon the facts of nature than upon a deceptive resemblance of words. It is hardly necessary to say to instructed readers that Dr. Thompson's knowledge of all

that pertains to Assyrian science, whether of natural things, medicine, or technology, is unrivalled, and therefore a book such as this becomes at once a standard work of reference upon the matters with which it deals. Sections that will be read with particular interest are those which concern the probable use of sulphuric acid (p. 102), the distinction of stones according to their action under acid (p. 140), a Babylonian origin of the word "cobalt" (p. 95), magnetic iron (p. 85), and the "geodes group" (pp. 105 ff.). The author has anticipated on p. xxxvi of the Introduction a criticism that the word "stone" is given an unreasonable extension by some of his results; on the other hand, there are materials well known to the Babylonians which are not accounted for here, shell and obsidian being the most conspicuous. *ELTEG* is probably not a correct value of the sign generally so transcribed, and in the author's now well-known discovery the word for "sulphur" should surely be read *kibir-id* (despite the hybrid form) rather than *kibir-nari*; the second part survives in the name of the town Hit on the Euphrates. *Ṣurru* and *naglabu* (p. 126) are both used also for parts of the body, and, if correctly identified here, there is probably an allusion connecting the two senses which we do not see. And, although the ingenious explanation of *aban kašari* (p. 189) as pumice is no doubt ultimately right, there is some difficulty in connecting a word *kašaru*, required to mean "rub", and *kuššarru*, which is a Sumerian loan-word meaning "a writer on (not a preparer of) skin". The book ends with a transcription of the Assyrian bilingual lists, and full indexes of the things referred to and of the words quoted from a number of Oriental and other languages. It is perhaps worth noting that the pagination of the abbreviations and indexes is incorrectly stated in the table of contents.

A. 733. C. J. GADD.

Islam

THREE TREATISES ON MYSTICISM. By SHIHÂBUDDÎN SUHRAWARDÎ MAQTÛL. With an account of his Life and Poetry. Edited and translated by OTTO SPIES and S. P. KHATAK. Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft 12. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. 52 + 121. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1935.

The famous Persian philosopher and mystic, who was convicted of heresy and executed at Aleppo in A.H. 587, composed most of his works, including the *Ḥikmatu 'l-ishráq* and the *Hayákilu 'l-núr*, in the classical language of Moslem philosophy; but among his *opera minora* are several allegories written in his native tongue, which appear to be the earliest Persian prose examples of their kind, though Avicenna and others, as is well known, had already cultivated the same style in Arabic. There are now five tractates by Suhrawardí available to those interested in the method of imparting mystical knowledge by means of a "myth". One, entitled *Mu'nisu 'l-'ushsháq* ("The Lovers' Friend"), was edited recently by Professor Spies; another, *Áwáz-i par-i Jibrá'íl* ("The Sound of Gabriel's Wing"), has been published together with a Persian commentary in the *Journal Asiatique* (July-September, 1935); and the work under review contains three more: *Lughat-i múrán* ("Ant-language"), *Ṣafír-i Símurgh* ("the Note of the Símurgh"), and *Tarjama-i Lisáni 'l-Ḥaqq*, a Persian translation, or paraphrase, of Avicenna's *Risálatu 'l-ṭayr*, to which is appended the commentary of 'Umar ibn Sahlán al-Sáwají (*circa* A.H. 540). The volume also contains a copious biography of Suhrawardí, extracted from Shahrazúrí's *Nuzhatu 'l-arwáh*: this is important, as Shahrazúrí (*ob. circa* A.H. 650) belonged to the Ishráqí school.

While the editors may claim full credit for their industry and enterprise in collecting all this new material, they cannot be congratulated on the way they have produced it. Even if

we ignore obvious misprints, the short lists of corrigenda (pp. 52 and ٩٠) are very far from being complete. It would waste time to demonstrate what the reader can so easily observe. Inaccuracy is a mild term for mistranslations such as "He vacated a house for me who am one of the broken-hearted" (p. 26), representing the *ḥadīth qudsī* فَرِّغ لى بيتًا انا عند المنكسرة قلوبهم In other respects too the English version leaves a good deal to be desired.

A. 535. R. A. NICHOLSON.

Miscellaneous

RICHARD BURTON, EXPLORER. By HUGH J. SCHONFIELD. 8½ × 5½, pp. 303, pl. i. London · Herbert Joseph, Ltd., 1936. 15*s*.

This short "Life" gives a summary account of Burton's chief exploits, and some idea of his peculiar temperament. It is readable and will probably satisfy the wants of that "large number of people of culture and wide reading" whom the author has found to be ignorant of Burton's name and achievements. It neither replaces nor appreciably supplements the existing longer lives.

The writer's style has something of an exotic tang and is at times a little distressing. One example must suffice: "Yet the grim determination of the man would not suffer him to lift beseeching hands towards the iron-bound heavens." Shades of Burton, what a suggestion!

A certain atmosphere of gloom must emanate from any life of Burton. The publisher has done his best to dissipate this by a touch of humour. On the cover of the volume, ostensibly as an appropriate adornment, is stamped a

medallion consisting of an inscription in meretricious Arabic characters. The inscription, being interpreted, reads: "The Ruba'iyāt of the Sage 'Umar Khayyām." But how many of the "people of culture and wide reading", for whom he is catering, will detect the joke?

A. 727. D. L. R. LORIMER.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volume:—

THE FLIGHT OF AN EMPRESS. By WU YUNG. Edited by IDA PRUITT; with introduction by K. S. LATOURETTE. London: Faber and Faber, 1937. 8*s*. 6*d*.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Professor Stephen Herbert Langdon

By the death of Professor Langdon Oxford has suffered a grave loss, and another link with the second generation of the pioneers of Assyriology is broken. By a fair reckoning he should have had at least two lustres more of vigorous research in front of him, probably the most valuable decade of his whole life, and his loss becomes thereby the greater tragedy for science.

He was born on May 8, 1876, on a farm in Ida township, Monroe County, Michigan, his father being George Knowles Langdon and his mother's maiden name Abigail Elizabeth Hassinger. He came of pioneer stock, his great grandfather being supervisor of the township in 1848 and 1850, and his grandfather owning a large farm in Eastern Ida. Here he attended the country school, and then entered the Monroe High School, where, according to my authority, it is said that his father, intending him and his brother to carry on the farm, was opposed to his learning Latin, on the grounds that a dead language would be of no service in farming; but other counsels fortunately prevailed, and after the young scholar had graduated in 1891 he taught in a country school for a time, determined to save enough money to take him to college.[1]

Naturally it was to the University of Michigan that he went, where he received the degree of B.A. in 1898, followed by the M.A. in the following year, and from this point his steps were led towards Assyriology, which was to become the absorbing passion of his life, fostered here by Professor J. A. Craig, who was editing cuneiform texts on religious and astrological subjects.

[1] I am indebted to a most appreciative article by Miss Gertrude Golden in the *Monroe Evening News* of December 12, 1935, for some of the details in the foregoing paragraph of Professor Langdon's early life, and to Dr. Montgomery, of the University of Pennsylvania, for other information.

The young student had, however, leanings towards theology, and for this reason, in 1900, he entered the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, ultimately, in 1905, being ordained Deacon in the American-Anglican Church, Paris; but happily he had meanwhile taken up the study of Semitic languages in Columbia University, which were ultimately to lead him to the Oxford Professorship. It was the Theological Seminary which brought him into touch with the two scholars, Francis Brown and Charles Briggs, who, with Canon Driver, the Regius Professor of Hebrew in Oxford, had brought out a new edition of Gesenius' great Hebrew dictionary. At Columbia he was guided by Professors Gottheil and Prince, the latter doubtless encouraging the trend of the younger man towards Sumerian, which he was presently to make his special study. He was examined for his Doctorate by the Faculties of Semitic and Greek in 1904, and went to France as an International Fellow of the University, where he was thus brought directly into touch with European scholarship in the persons of Professors Scheil and Fossey, both of them most distinguished Assyriologists. From this point began his long succession of publications, which, during thirty-three years of productivity, include between twenty and thirty volumes, apart from very numerous articles in scientific journals, beginning with his *Annals of Ashurbanipal* in 1904.

In 1905 he submitted his thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Columbia, *The Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire*, and it is delightful to see all the vigour of youth expressed in the claim which he makes (indeed, not without some justification) that it represents the first attempt to apply the rules of literary criticism to the compositions of the Neo-Babylonian School of scribes. Like most theses, it contained nothing strikingly new, but it shows a great sense of what such a book should be, both in form and style, and was a worthy forerunner of his future work. The fact that he mentions having found an unpublished duplicate of one of his texts in the Louvre (which he was able to use with good

advantage) shows that he had recognized the importance of handling the clay early, a postulate laid down by the earliest cuneiform scholars as essential in the making of an Assyriologist.

I learn from Professor J. Dyneley Prince, who has been so good as to give me the details, that Langdon was his student in Assyrian before and after taking his Ph D. from Columbia. It would appear that Langdon was at first inclined to accept Halévy's theory of "cryptographic writing" for Sumerian, but later recognized its agglutinative character and relinquished his first trend. "He was," says Professor Prince, "a great scholar with a fixed purpose from which he never swerved."

Thereafter he went to Leipzig, and in 1908, when Miss Mary Wallace Shillito, generously recognizing the needs of Assyriology in England, founded the Shillito Readership in the University of Oxford, Langdon was the first to hold office. The Readership was permanently established in 1911 with a gift of £10,000 from Miss Shillito; Langdon was given an honorary degree in 1910, and was constituted Professor in 1919, after the retirement of Professor Sayce. Incidentally he was made Curator of the Babylonian Section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, where he spent no little time from August, 1916, onwards, in preparing and publishing tablets in the collections. He became naturalized as an Englishman in 1913, and married in 1925, May, the younger daughter of Mr. Thomas Gregory of Cardiff.

To estimate the value of each of his books in detail would be beyond the limit of the present notice, but it is permissible to discuss a few of them. Much of his work was on those most difficult texts of all, the Sumerian hymns, and in this his careful habit of mind, of documenting every publication which appeared, provided him with that essential base, which every scholar must have, on which to start the exercise of his own knowledge and capacity. It was a task which demanded scholarship, eyesight, and above all determination and

courage in this branch of a study, and the value of Langdon's work, which will form a nucleus for fresh editions, is incalculable, and, indeed, one has only to look round the shelves of the Sayce Assyriological Library in the Ashmolean to be reminded, *si monumentum requiris*. Each work on Sumerian is indicative of his capacity. It was in 1914 that he noted the very important Sumerian tablet which he published in 1919 under the title *Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, a most difficult text, in which he, as befits a scholar, modestly admits the probability of errors in his publication.

On the Semitic side he published an admirable edition (both transliteration and translation) of the great Babylonian Epic of Creation. As always, he spared no pains to consult original documents in the British Museum, and the result is a most convenient and modern scholarly book, for which all Assyriologists have been grateful. Nor must his publication of a unique tablet of the Gilgamish Series be forgotten, a large tablet of the older recension of the latter Epic, which was in the collections in Philadelphia. His most ambitious work, perhaps, is his *Semitic Mythology*, 1931, and in undertaking a study of what is now a vast subject he was hampered by the demands of the Series in which it formed part, which attempted to compress into one volume material which might well need a dozen. He himself saw this, and, as he says, had been embarrassed by the difficulty of selecting what was strictly essential; but he certainly manages to lay a large collection of facts before his public in an interesting way, and to marshal new data in such a fashion that the book must be studied by all who would concern themselves with Semitic religion. At the same time there are points open to criticism at all events in one direction where, perhaps owing to his earlier training, he tried to maintain the theory of a belief in primitive monotheism. Obviously he must of necessity make mistakes in a study in which he published so much, but, then, no one who never made mistakes ever made anything. I am reminded of a great passage in *Tristram Shandy*: "'A

soldier,' cried my Uncle *Toby*, 'is no more exempt from saying a foolish thing, *Trim*, than a man of letters.' 'But not so often, an' please your honour,' replied the corporal'' Assyriologists are no more exempt than others, and it is not for me to pose as a critic.

After the War, when British interests in Mesopotamia encouraged excavations in that country where we had expended so much blood and treasure, at Langdon's instance Oxford was not behindhand in inaugurating diggings on a site of first-class importance. He extended his energies to raising funds for an expedition, which he regarded as part of the necessities of modern Assyriology, and, with the Field Museum of Chicago, enlisted the help of Mr. Weld-Blundell (afterwards Dr. Herbert Weld), who shouldered the burden of financially supporting the Oxford share of the expedition. The site chosen was Uhaimer (Kish), some few miles east of Babylon, and Dr. Ernest Mackay was put in charge in 1923.

Langdon himself went out for two seasons as Director, in 1923 and 1925. Whether this was advisable from the point of view of his health may be doubted; he had never been to the East before, and Mesopotamia is a hard country in which to serve an apprenticeship. But it was in keeping with the courage of the man, and it was not until he nearly died from a severe attack of jaundice that he refrained from going out a third time. M. Watelin succeeded Mackay in 1926, and conducted the excavations until his death in 1934, and in this year, owing to the exacting new laws concerning excavations in Iraq, the Oxford Field expedition, in common with many others, at once ceased. These new laws, so different from their generous predecessors, were not only ungrateful to the memory of Miss Gertrude Bell, who was the prime mover in everything relating to the national collections in Iraq, but also unscientific in their claims on any fresh discoveries made in the half-excavated libraries, with all their jumble of broken antiquities, especially cuneiform tablets, pieces of which were already preserved in European Museums awaiting

what are technically called "joins", that is, the other fragments necessary to complete them. It was hardly a matter for wonder that Langdon, disappointed in this fundamental alteration in the position, should have closed down, "owing," as he says, "to the unfavourable attitude of the Department of Antiquities of the Government of Iraq in regard to the division of archæological objects and other threatening regulations, which would harass the work of the excavator." Indeed, it may be said that these laws have cost Iraq thousands of pounds, both in loss in wages and other expenses in excavating, and in the decreased interest of the tourist, who prefers to see diggings actually in progress rather than formless and uninteresting mounds. But the Kish excavations, carried on for less than ten years, had been very fruitful in the discovery of buildings, prehistoric antiquities of immense interest, and above all a wonderful collection of pictographic tablets, which Langdon himself admirably edited.

An amusing passage from Miss Bell's own letters shows the former treatment of Professor Langdon himself at the first of these Rhadamanthine and unilateral divisions of spoil: "'Who decides,' said the Professor, 'if we disagree?' I replied that I did, but he needn't be afraid for he would find me eager to oblige. I said: 'Come on, Professor, you'll see how it works out.' So we went to his tent, where all the tablets were exposed. There was one unique object, a stone tablet inscribed with what is probably the oldest known human script. The Professor positively pressed it on me. . . . The Professor got what he longed for, a mother of pearl inlay representing a milking scene."

By his two seasons' actual control in the field at Kish Langdon showed himself to be an antiquary of the old school, which held it proper that the chief excavator should understand the language of the people whose records he is digging; our knowledge of the ancients is poor enough in any case, but miserably jejune without that last and almost only intimate

familiarity between them and us. Excavations on Greek sites to this day demand the old habit; but in Mesopotamia, after the inauguration of the German diggings at the end of last century, it had become the fashion to depose the scholar (called thenceforth with due vagueness "epigraphist") to a seat below the salt, which perhaps explains the trend of the more modern interest to prehistory.

So much therefore for Langdon's energy in so many directions, as scholar and excavator, whereby he was to become Professor, and a Fellow of the British Academy. His activities on behalf of the R.A.S. were endless; he was a Member of the Council, and wrote many articles for the *Journal*. Personally he was the kindest of men, and no trouble was too great for him to take in helping those who appealed to his wide knowledge of cuneiform. As the writer of a notice in the *Oxford Magazine* says, he rejoiced in the successes of his pupils, and he counted among them nine professors, three readers, and two lecturers, and I cannot do better than append here what one of his latest pupils says. "As one who has worked under Professor Langdon for nearly four years, I am glad to have the opportunity to express the sense of personal loss with which his sudden death affected me. His enthusiasm for the subject to which he devoted all his energies was a constant inspiration, and he was always ready to take endless trouble in solving any problem that arose in connection with the work of his pupils. It is not for me to criticize his work, but it always seemed to me to be the great virtue of his scholarship that he never ignored any branch of learning which might bear upon his subject, and thus, owing to the peculiar material which the Assyriologist studies, his interests ranged from astronomy to the anatomy of human speech, and from comparative law to the philosophy of the soul, though it was primarily in the spheres of philology and of Sumerian religion that he claimed to speak as an authority.

"But one thinks of him perhaps even more as one who took an immense enjoyment in the simple things of life. At golf

he had his own inimitable style, but his pleasure in the game was always fresh. He had a fund of stories about his own experiences, mainly in connection with his excavations at Kish, and his laughter was of that spontaneous kind which infects all who hear it. That his life should thus be cut short will be a real grief to his many friends, who remember him for these things."

Langdon's career, which began in surroundings where academic learnings were discouraged and ended in an Oxford Professorship, is hardly less than heroic.

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

Hon. Desmond Parsons

At Zurich, on 4th July, Desmond Parsons died after suffering for two years from an illness which seemed to have been the outcome of hardships while travelling in China. Though aged only 26, he had made active advances in the study of Chinese civilization which was his chosen work. Having visited places of archæological moment in the provinces of Honan and Shensi, he made a journey to Tun-huang in difficult circumstances, examining the geographical features of the ancient highway to the West along the Kansu corridor. Some misunderstanding by the local authorities led to his arrest, and he was released at Lanchou only after diplomatic intervention. Before that he had managed to take over 120 photographs in the famous Buddhist cave-shrines at Tunhuang, including certain wall-paintings which had not yet been recorded. Copies are preserved in the Courtauld Institute, and in the collections of Harvard University and several American museums.

Possessed of an unusual capacity for observation and of a fine scholarly instinct, he would doubtless have contributed ably to the Chinese studies he loved. His charming personality and transparent honesty of purpose claimed the admiration of all who knew him.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

Dr. Kashiprasad Jayaswal

In Dr. Kashiprasad Jayaswal the Society has lost prematurely a member whose energy and enthusiasm had won him wide recognition in India, and some of whose original speculations and discoveries, as well as his more normal contributions to learning, had been approved by Indologists in general. References in standard works, such as *The Cambridge History of India* and Professor de la Vallée Poussin's admirable volumes in the *Histoire du Monde*, not to mention reviews and articles contained in Orientalist journals, show that his activities were appreciated by scholars: and it was to be expected that with increasing circumspection his insight and vigour would accomplish a work of permanent value.

Returning from Oxford, where he had been a member and Honorary Scholar (1910), of Jesus College, as well as Davis University Scholar in Chinese, to a professional career as a barrister, first in Calcutta and later in Patna—he held also in Calcutta an university appointment as Lecturer in Ancient History—he quickly acquired through some notable articles published in the *Modern Review* and elsewhere a reputation for original research. In the foundation of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, instituted by Sir Edward Gait, then Governor, he took an active part, becoming a member of its first Council. With its *Journal*, now in its twenty-third volume and distinguished by scholarly efficiency and regularity of issue, he was closely associated from the beginning and during some sixteen years, until his death, he was its editor. He was a frequent contributor of extensive articles; and of the general activities of the Society he may be said to have been, despite the distractions of a busy professional life, a mainspring. He took a keen interest in the archæological exploration of Patna, and himself carried on excavations which led at times to notable finds, now preserved in the Patna Museum. For that Museum, working in conjunction with the

late Rakhaldas Banerji, he procured a cast of the famous Hāthīgumpha Cave inscription of Khandagiri in Orissa. A joint edition of the inscription, with translation and commentary, was published first in the Society's *Journal* (1917) and again, after a number of further studies, in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xx; it comprises some marked improvements in reading and interpretation. In 1917 Jayaswal was selected to deliver the Tagore Law Lectures in Calcutta. When the sixth All-India Oriental Conference (1930) met in Patna, he was elected President of the Reception Committee, and at the inaugural meeting he delivered an eloquent and informative address. A much more elaborate discourse, surveying the progress of Indologist studies, signalized his presidency of the Conference at its Baroda meeting (1933). In 1935 he paid a visit to England, on which occasion he lectured before the Royal Asiatic Society on finds of Maurya coins and symbols resulting from the Patna excavations. The same year brought him recognition, in the form of Honorary Doctorates, from the universities of Patna and Benares.

Probably the most notable of Jayaswal's writings is to be seen in his contributions to the *Modern Review* (1912–13), on the subject of non-monarchical states in ancient India, to which phenomenon attention had been drawn by Professor Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India*. Jayaswal showed how the procedures of the Buddhist Saṃgha shed light upon the administration of those states. The topic retained his interest, and the states in question, concerning which he elicited much new information, occupy a large space in his extensive, but not in all features quite sound, treatise on *Hindu Polity* (1924), a matter in which he was a pioneer with many followers. In the meanwhile he had published a number of papers dealing with Nanda, Maurya, and Śuṅga chronology, and also with difficult early inscriptions, wherein he was, no doubt, too ready to find in obscure passages mention of historical names. Other inscriptions, of a less debatable character, he edited with commendable versions and discussions in the *Journal*

of his Society, and in *Epigraphia Indica*. Useful work on normal lines is contained also in his edition (1924) of a *Smṛti* text, the *Rājanīti-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara, and in the two stout volumes of *A Descriptive Catalogue of* [*Sanskrit*] *Manuscripts in Mithilā*, compiled in collaboration with Dr. Anantaprasad Śāstrī (1927–). He also edited with historical commentary the famous *Yuga-purāṇa* of the *Garga-saṃhitā*.

With the last-named may be associated the volume (1934) too optimistically entitled *An Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text* [*c.* 700 B.C.–*c.* A.D. 770], which is a for the most part successful attempt to identify and fix chronologically the kings and dynasties obscurely (often only by initials) particularized in a Buddhist Tantra work, *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*, published at Trivandrum in 1920–5. In this volume he was assisted by the Ven. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, who enabled him by the aid of an old Tibetan version to correct the Sanskrit text. Jayaswal enthusiastically supported his friend's very fruitful efforts to procure old Sanskrit MSS. by journeys into Tibet. In his last years he himself visited Nepal, and he contributed to the *Journal* in 1936 a long article (subsequently published separately) on the chronology of the country "from 600 B.C. to A.D. 880".

Along with *Hindu Polity*, the volume of Tagore Law Lectures (1930) and *The History of India*, A.D. 150 *to* A.D. 350 (1933) constitute the most elaborate and characteristic group of Jayaswal's writings. Both contain speculative elements, and the former of the two will in places evoke protests from scholars, while the latter has been strongly criticized by numismatists. But Jayaswal's works, dealing with difficult problems and obscure periods, do not leave matters where he found them: the two books embody important conceptions, concerning the composition and date of the "Laws of Manu" and concerning the history of the Nāga and Vākāṭaka dynasties; furthermore, they comprise valuable new particulars, and in regard to the two dynasties

the author himself brought to light some new archæological materials.

Dr. Jayaswal's sanguine and vigorous temperament, which made him a loyal friend, manifested itself also in a decidedness of view and a promptness in disposing of divergent opinions, which, together with a touch of patriotic bias—in historical studies no more a virtue than is its opposite—affected some critics unfavourably. That natural vigour carried him through an operation for carbuncle, which became necessary in the early summer of the present year, and maintained a long struggle, terminated in August last.

Our deep sympathy goes to his widow and children.

F. W. Thomas.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Lantern slides of Assyriological and Babylonian Subjects

PINCHES BEQUEST

The late Dr. T. G. Pinches, a Member of the Society for upwards of fifty years, left directions that a collection of his Assyriological and Babylonian Lantern Slides should be held in trust by the Royal Asiatic Society for the use of Students.

Dr. Pinches bequeathed them in the hope that they may promote an interest in such subjects among Students in this country. The Society has accepted the trust, and will hold the slides available for the use of bona fide Students, Lecturers, or Educational Institutions such as the Victoria Institute. There are nearly 400 slides, which were catalogued by the late Professor S. H. Langdon. Requests from orientalists should be sent to the Secretary, with necessary references for the consideration of the Council.

Dr. Pinches also left nine simple Babylonian Seals, together with the copy, transcription, and translation of each, prepared by himself for the same purpose. These are available for loan under the same conditions as the slides.

Notices

Mr. Sadāshiva L. Kātre, Assistant Curator of the Oriental MSS. Library, Mādhava College, Ujjain, informs us that the Library has recently acquired an undated, but apparently a century old, MS. entitled *Kautsavyākaraṇa*. He writes that, in spite of the title and ascription, the work is generally identical with what Whitney published in *JAOS*. vii (1862), on the basis of a single MS. in the Berlin Library, as the *Atharvaveda-prātiśākhya*, some colophons of which describe it as *Śaunakīyā Caturadhyāyikā*.

Dr. Quaritch Wales, Field Director of the Greater India Research Committee, is leading a mission to Malaya, at the invitation of the Government, to carry out the first systematic investigation of ancient Indian settlements in Kedah and Perak. The field work is expected to take a year.

We have to announce with great pleasure that our distinguished member, and former Vice-President, Dr. F. W. Thomas, has been elected to preside at the forthcoming (9th) Session of the All-India Oriental Conference to be held at Trivandrum under the patronage of H.H. Sir Bala Rama Varma, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of Travancore, in December next.

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In No. 5128 is a report by Professor John Garstang, Director of the Neilson Expedition to the Near East from the University of Liverpool, on the discovery of an Imperial Hittite monument south of Taurus, a rock-carved figure of the bearded warrior king Muwatalli, on a cliff face beside the River Jeihan, 60 miles east of Tarsus, in Cilicia, attributed to the twelfth century B.C. Behind the rock is an extensive mound, the largest in Cilicia, marking the site of an important city.

No. 5130 of 14th August, 1937, gives a description from the pen of Professor A. M. Blackman, a member of the R.A.S. and the Director of the Excavations, of recent finds at the old fortress at Sesebi, or Sese, situated about a couple of hundred yards from the River Nile in Nubia, the walls of which still rise to a height of some 16 feet. The fortress was probably built by Amenophis IV, before he took the name of Akhenaten.

In No. 5131 there appears an illustrated description of the find in a newly discovered Nabatæan temple on the hilltop at Khirbet et-Tannar, in the Tafileh district of Transjordan, indicating the eclectic Nabatæan culture influenced by Syria, Greece, Egypt, and Rome.

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